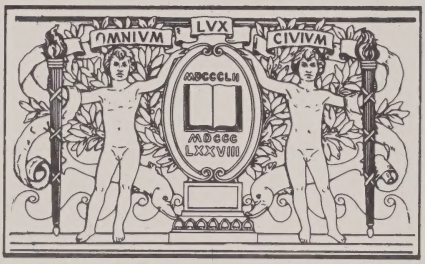
Boston Public Library
3 9999 10588 734 1



BOSTON
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025 with funding from
Boston Public Library

https://archive.org/details/northamericanrev1852webs

vice a Month July 5, 1907 Twenty-five Cents

Ninety-third Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 185: No. 5.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

EDITED BY GEORGE HARVEY

NOTES ON "THE INNOCENTS ABROAD"

A CHAPTER FROM MARK TWAIN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY—XX

SPECIAL ARTICLES

The South and the Presidency . . A NATIONAL DEMOCRAT
State Valuation of Railroads . . . . . CHARLES HANSEL
The New Theology in England . . . CHARLES JOHNSTON
Charles Anderson Dana . . . . . M. W. HAZELTINE
The Problem of Child Idleness . . THOMAS SPEED MOSBY
Epic of the West's Evolution. . . . CHARLES M. HARVEY
The New Citizenship Law . . . . . GAILLARD HUNT
Mark Twain: Humorist and Philosopher, W. LYON PHELPS

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

Potter's "The Princess" . . . FREDERIC TABER COOPER
Wright's "Life of Walter Pater" . . . THOMAS WALSH
Viereck's Poems . . . . . CLAYTON HAMILTON

WORLD POLITICS

Paris: An Unexpected Check to the Socialist Movement; The Trade Unions and the General Labor Confederation; Strikes of Government Employees. Washington: The Part of the United States in the Peace Congress; The Japanese War Scare Subsiding; Our Pensioners in Foreign Lands; Progress of the Presidential Campaign.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY

ESPERANTO

Lessons in the New Universal Language in this Number.

Five Dollars a Year Franklin Square, New York

NOV 10 1964

BUFFALO LITHIA WATER

These Physicians Have Used It Personally and in Practice—Are They Not Competent Witnesses?

For these Purposes it is Endorsed by the Highest Medical Authorities

Dr. Geo. E. Walton's *standard work on the Medicinal Springs of the United States, Canada* is an efficient diuretic, and proves of great value *states:* **"BUFFALO LITHIA WATER** INFLAMMATION and IRRITATION of the BLADDER and KIDNEYS, especially when dependent upon the URIC ACID DIATHESIS, as exhibited cases of GRAVEL and GOUT. For these purposes it is endorsed by the highest medical authorities

Dr. Chas. B. Nancrede, *Prof. of Surgery, Medical Dept. University of Mich., and author of articles in International Cyclopedia of Surgery, is of the opinion that* **"BUFFALO LITHIA WATER** is one of the alkaline waters this country. I have used it with undoubted advantage in my own person."

Dr. John T. Metcalf, *Emeritus Prof. of Clinical Medicine, College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York:* "I have for some years prescribed **BUFFALO LITHIA WATER** for patients, and used it in own case for GOUTY TROUBLES with decided beneficial results, and I regard it certainly as a very valuable remedy."

Additional testimony on request. For sale by the general drug and mineral water trade.

Hotel at Springs opens June 15th

PROPRIETOR BUFFALO LITHIA SPRINGS, VA

SEA and CAR SICKNESS PREVENTED

Any trip, either long or short, can be comfortably made free from either SEA SICKNESS or CAR SICKNESS by using

S. and C. S. TABLETS

AN EFFECTUAL REMEDY

50 cents per box.

S. & C. S. MANUFACTURING COMPANY
112 American Central Life Bldg.
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING CO., Franklin Square, New York, N. Y.

GEORGE HARVEY, President, Franklin Square, New York, N. Y.

A. D. CHANDLER, Secretary, Franklin Square, New York, N. Y.

HERBERT E. BOWEN, Treasurer, Franklin Square, New York, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter August 17, 1906, at the Post-Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Per Dept
AP2
N7
vol. 185-2
1907
185.2

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

No. DCXVIII.

JULY 5, 1907.

CHAPTERS FROM MY AUTOBIOGRAPHY—XX.*

BY MARK TWAIN.

PREFATORY NOTE.—Mr. Clemens began to write his autobiography many years ago, and he continues to add to it day by day. It was his original intention to permit no publication of his memoirs until after his death; but, after leaving "Pier No. 70," he concluded that a considerable portion might now suitably be given to the public. It is that portion, garnered from the quarter-million of words already written, which will appear in this REVIEW during the coming year. No part of the autobiography will be published in book form during the lifetime of the author.—EDITOR N. A. R.

[*Notes on "Innocents Abroad." Dictated in Florence, Italy, April, 1904.*]—I will begin with a note upon the dedi-
(1868.) cation. I wrote the book in the months of March and April, 1868, in San Francisco. It was published in August, 1869. Three years afterward Mr. Goodman, of Virginia City, Nevada, on whose newspaper I had served ten years before, came East, and we were walking down Broadway one day when he said: "How did you come to steal Oliver Wendell Holmes's dedication and put it in your book?"

I made a careless and inconsequential answer, for I supposed he was joking. But he assured me that he was in earnest. He

*Copyright, 1906, by HARPER & BROTHERS. All Rights Reserved.

Copyright, 1907, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY All Rights Reserved.

570
3

said: "I'm not discussing the question of whether you stole it or didn't—for that is a question that can be settled in the first bookstore we come to—I am only asking you *how* you came to steal it, for that is where my curiosity is focalized."

I couldn't accommodate him with this information, as I hadn't it in stock. I could have made oath that I had not stolen anything, therefore my vanity was not hurt nor my spirit troubled. At bottom I supposed that he had mistaken another book for mine, and was now getting himself into an untenable place and preparing sorrow for himself and triumph for me. We entered a bookstore and he asked for "The Innocents Abroad" and for the dainty little blue and gold edition of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes's poems. He opened the books, exposed their dedications and said: "Read them. It is plain that the author of the second one stole the first one, isn't it?"

I was very much ashamed, and unspeakably astonished. We continued our walk, but I was not able to throw any gleam of light upon that original question of his. I could not remember ever having seen Dr. Holmes's dedication. I knew the poems, but the dedication was new to me.

I did not get hold of the key to that secret until months afterward, then it came in a curious way, and yet it was a natural way; for the natural way provided by nature and the construction of the human mind for the discovery of a forgotten event is to employ another forgotten event for its resurrection.

I received a letter from the Rev. Dr. Rising, who had been rector of the Episcopal church in Virginia City in my time, in (1866.) which letter Dr. Rising made reference to certain things which had happened to us in the Sandwich Islands six years before; among things he made casual mention of the Honolulu Hotel's poverty in the matter of literature. At first I did not see the bearing of the remark, it called nothing to my mind. But presently it did—with a flash! There was but one book in Mr. Kirchhof's hotel, and that was the first volume of Dr. Holmes's blue and gold series. I had had a fortnight's chance to get well acquainted with its contents, for I had ridden around the big island (Hawaii) on horseback and had brought back so many saddle boils that if there had been a duty on them it would have bankrupted me to pay it. They kept me in my room, unclothed, and in persistent pain for two weeks, with no company

but cigars and the little volume of poems. Of course I read them almost constantly; I read them from beginning to end, then read them backwards, then began in the middle and read them both ways, then read them wrong end first and upside down. In a word, I read the book to rags, and was infinitely grateful to the hand that wrote it.

Here we have an exhibition of what repetition can do, when persisted in daily and hourly over a considerable stretch of time, where one is merely reading for entertainment, without thought or intention of preserving in the memory that which is read. It is a process which in the course of years dries all the juice out of a familiar verse of Scripture, leaving nothing but a sapless husk behind. In that case you at least know the origin of the husk, but in the case in point I apparently preserved the husk but presently forgot whence it came. It lay lost in some dim corner of my memory a year or two, then came forward when I needed a dedication, and was promptly mistaken by me as a child of my own happy fancy.

I was new, I was ignorant, the mysteries of the human mind were a sealed book to me as yet, and I stupidly looked upon myself as a tough and unforgivable criminal. I wrote to Dr. Holmes and told him the whole disgraceful affair, implored him in impassioned language to believe that I had never intended to commit this crime, and was unaware that I had committed it until I was confronted with the awful evidence. I have lost his answer, I could better have afforded to lose an uncle. Of these I had a surplus, many of them of no real value to me, but that letter was beyond price, beyond uncledom, and unsparable. In it Dr. Holmes laughed the kindest and healingest laugh over the whole matter, and at considerable length and in happy phrase assured me that there was no crime in unconscious plagiarism; that I committed it every day, that he committed it every day, that every man alive on the earth who writes or speaks commits it every day and not merely once or twice but every time he opens his mouth; that all our phrasings are spiritualized shadows cast multitudinously from our readings; that no happy phrase of ours is ever quite original with us, there is nothing of our own in it except some slight change born of our temperament, character, environment, teachings and associations; that this slight change differentiates it from another man's

manner of saying it, stamps it with our special style, and makes it our own for the time being; all the rest of it being old, moldy, antique, and smelling of the breath of a thousand generations of them that have passed it over their teeth before!

In the thirty-odd years which have come and gone since then, I have satisfied myself that what Dr. Holmes said was true.

I wish to make a note upon the preface of the "Innocents." In the last paragraph of that brief preface, I speak of the proprietors of the "Daily Alta California" having "waived their rights" in certain letters which I wrote for that journal while absent on the "Quaker City" trip. I was young then, I am white-headed now, but the insult of that word rankles yet, now that I am reading that paragraph for the first time in many years, reading it for the first time since it was written, perhaps. There were rights, it is true—such rights as the strong are able to acquire over the weak and the absent. Early in '66 George Barnes invited me to resign my reportership on his paper, the San Francisco "Morning Call," and for some months thereafter I was without money or work; then I had a pleasant turn of fortune. The proprietors of the "Sacramento Union," a great and influential daily journal, sent me to the Sandwich Islands to write four letters a month at twenty dollars apiece. I was there four or five months, and returned to find myself about the best known honest man on the Pacific Coast. Thomas McGuire, proprietor of several theatres, said that now was the time to make my fortune—strike while the iron was hot! —break into the lecture field! I did it. I announced a lecture on the Sandwich Islands, closing the advertisement with the remark, "Admission one dollar; doors open at half-past 7, the trouble begins at 8." A true prophecy. The trouble certainly did begin at 8, when I found myself in front of the only audience I had ever faced, for the fright which pervaded me from head to foot was paralyzing. It lasted two minutes and was as bitter as death, the memory of it is indestructible, but it had its compensations, for it made me immune from timidity before audiences for all time to come. I lectured in all the principal Californian towns and in Nevada, then lectured once or twice more in San Francisco, then retired from the field rich—for me—and laid out a plan to sail Westward from San Francisco, and go around the world. The proprietors of the "Alta" engaged me

to write an account of the trip for that paper—fifty letters of a column and a half each, which would be about two thousand words per letter, and the pay to be twenty dollars per letter.

I went East to St. Louis to say good-bye to my mother, and then I was bitten by the prospectus of Captain Duncan of the "Quaker City" excursion, and I ended by joining it. During the trip I wrote and sent the fifty letters; six of them miscarried, and I wrote six new ones to complete my contract. Then I put together a lecture on the trip and delivered it in San Francisco at great and satisfactory pecuniary profit, then I branched out into the country and was aghast at the result: I had been entirely forgotten, I never had people enough in my houses to sit as a jury of inquest on my lost reputation! I inquired into this curious condition of things and found that the thrifty owners of that prodigiously rich "Alta" newspaper had *copyrighted* all those poor little twenty-dollar letters, and had threatened with prosecution any journal which should venture to copy a paragraph from them!

And there I was! I had contracted to furnish a large book, concerning the excursion, to the American Publishing Co. of Hartford, and I supposed I should need all those letters to fill it out with. I was in an uncomfortable situation—that is, if the proprietors of this stealthily acquired copyright should refuse to let me use the letters. That is just what they did; Mr. Mac—something—I have forgotten the rest of his name—said his firm were going to make a book out of the letters in order to get back the thousand dollars which they had paid for them. I said that if they had acted fairly and honorably, and had allowed the country press to use the letters or portions of them, my lecture-skirmish on the coast would have paid me ten thousand dollars, whereas the "Alta" had lost me that amount. Then he offered a compromise: he would publish the book and allow me ten per cent. royalty on it. The compromise did not appeal to me, and I said so. I was now quite unknown outside of San Francisco, the book's sale would be confined to that city, and my royalty would not pay me enough to board me three months; whereas my Eastern contract, if carried out, could be profitable to me, for I had a sort of reputation on the Atlantic seaboard acquired through the publication of six excursion-letters in the New York "Tribune" and one or two in the "Herald."

In the end Mr. Mac agreed to suppress his book, on certain conditions: in my preface I must thank the "Alta" for waiving its "rights" and granting me permission. I objected to the thanks. I could not with any large degree of sincerity thank the "Alta" for bankrupting my lecture-raid. After considerable debate my point was conceded and the thanks left out.

Noah Brooks was the editor of the "Alta" at the time, a man of sterling character and equipped with a right heart, also a good historian where facts were not essential. In biographical sketches of me written many years afterward (1902), he was quite eloquent in praises of the generosity of the "Alta" people in giving to me without compensation a book which, as history had afterward shown, was worth a fortune. After all the fuss, I did not levy heavily upon the "Alta" letters. I found that they were newspaper matter, not book matter. They had been written here and there and yonder, as opportunity had given me a chance working-moment or two during our feverish flight around about Europe or in the furnace-heat of my state-room on board the "Quaker City," therefore they were loosely constructed, and needed to have some of the wind and water squeezed out of them. I used several of them—ten or twelve, perhaps. I wrote the rest of "The Innocents Abroad" in sixty days, and I could have added a fortnight's labor with the pen and gotten along without the letters altogether. I was very young in those days, exceedingly young, marvellously young, younger than I am now, younger than I shall ever be again, by hundreds of years. I worked every night from eleven or twelve until broad day in the morning, and as I did two hundred thousand words in the sixty days, the average was more than three thousand words a day—nothing for Sir Walter Scott, nothing for Louis Stevenson, nothing for plenty of other people, but quite handsome for me. In 1897, when we were living in Tedworth Square, London, and I was writing the book called "Following the Equator" my average was eighteen hundred words a day; here in Florence (1904), my average seems to be fourteen hundred words per sitting of four or five hours.*

(1902.)

(1897.)

(1904.)

I was deducing from the above that I have been slowing down steadily in these thirty-six years, but I perceive that my

* With the pen, I mean. This Autobiography is dictated, not written.

statistics have a defect: three thousand words in the spring of 1868 when I was working seven or eight or nine hours at a sitting has little or no advantage over the sitting of to-day, covering half the time and producing half the output. Figures often beguile me, particularly when I have the arranging of them myself; in which case the remark attributed to Disraeli would often apply with justice and force:

"There are three kinds of lies: lies, damned lies, and statistics."

[*Dictated, January 23, 1907.*]—The proverb says that Providence protects children and idiots. This is really true. I know it because I have tested it. It did not protect George through the most of his campaign, but it saved him in his last inning, and the veracity of the proverb stood confirmed.

I have several times been saved by this mysterious interposition, when I was manifestly in extreme peril. It has been common, all my life, for smart people to perceive in me an easy prey for selfish designs, and I have walked without suspicion into the trap set for me, yet have often come out unscathed, against all the likelihoods. More than forty years ago, in San Francisco, the office staff adjourned, upon conclusion (1865.) of its work at two o'clock in the morning, to a great bowling establishment where there were twelve alleys. I was invited, rather perfunctorily, and as a matter of etiquette—by which I mean that I was invited politely, but not urgently. But when I diffidently declined, with thanks, and explained that I knew nothing about the game, those lively young fellows became at once eager and anxious and urgent to have my society. This flattered me, for I perceived no trap, and I innocently and gratefully accepted their invitation. I was given an alley all to myself. The boys explained the game to me, and they also explained to me that there would be an hour's play, and that the player who scored the fewest ten-strikes in the hour would have to provide oysters and beer for the combination. This disturbed me very seriously, since it promised me bankruptcy, and I was sorry that this detail had been overlooked in the beginning. But my pride would not allow me to back out now, so I stayed in, and did what I could to look satisfied and glad I had come. It is not likely that I looked as contented as I wanted to, but the others looked glad enough to make up for it, for they were quite unable to hide their evil joy. They showed me how to stand,

and how to stoop, and how to aim the ball, and how to let fly; and then the game began. The results were astonishing. In my ignorance I delivered the balls in apparently every way except the right one; but no matter—during half an hour I never started a ball down the alley that didn't score a ten-strike, every time, at the other end. The others lost their grip early, and their joy along with it. Now and then one of them got a ten-strike, but the occurrence was so rare that it made no show alongside of my giant score. The boys surrendered at the end of the half-hour, and put on their coats and gathered around me and in courteous, but sufficiently definite, language expressed their opinion of an experience-worn and seasoned expert who would stoop to lying and deception in order to rob kind and well-meaning friends who had put their trust in him under the delusion that he was an honest and honorable person. I was not able to convince them that I had not lied, for now my character was gone, and they refused to attach any value to anything I said. The proprietor of the place stood by for a while saying nothing, then he came to my defence. He said: "It looks like a mystery, gentlemen, but it isn't a mystery after it's explained. That is a *grooved* alley; you've only to start a ball down it any way you please and the groove will do the rest; it will slam the ball against the northeast curve of the head pin every time, and nothing can save the ten from going down."

It was true. The boys made the experiment and they found that there was no art that could send a ball down that alley and fail to score a ten-strike with it. When I had told those boys that I knew nothing about that game I was speaking only the truth; but it was ever thus, all through my life: whenever I have diverged from custom and principle and uttered a truth, the rule has been that the hearer hadn't strength of mind enough to believe it.

A quarter of a century ago I arrived in London to lecture a few weeks under the management of George Dolby, who had conducted the Dickens readings in America five or six years before. He took me to the Albemarle and fed me, and in the course of the dinner he enlarged a good deal, and with great satisfaction, upon his reputation as a player of fifteen-ball pool, and when he learned by my testimony that I had never seen the game played, and knew nothing of the art of pocketing

(1873.)

balls, he enlarged more and more, and still more, and kept on enlarging, until I recognized that I was either in the presence of the very father of fifteen-ball pool or in the presence of his most immediate descendant. At the end of the dinner Dolby was eager to introduce me to the game and show me what he could do. We adjourned to the billiard-room and he framed the balls in a flat pyramid and told me to fire at the apex ball and then go on and do what I could toward pocketing the fifteen, after which he would take the cue and show me what a past-master of the game could do with those balls. I did as required. I began with the diffidence proper to my ignorant estate, and when I had finished my inning all the balls were in the pockets and Dolby was burying me under a volcanic irruption of acid sarcasms.

So I was a liar in Dolby's belief. He thought he had been sold, and at a cheap rate; but he divided his sarcasms quite fairly and quite equally between the two of us. He was full of ironical admiration of his childishness and innocence in letting a wandering and characterless and scandalous American load him up with deceptions of so transparent a character that they ought not to have deceived the house cat. On the other hand, he was remorselessly severe upon me for beguiling him, by studied and discreditable artifice, into bragging and boasting about his poor game in the presence of a professional expert disguised in lies and frauds, who could empty more balls in billiard pockets in an hour than he could empty into a basket in a day.

In the matter of fifteen-ball pool I never got Dolby's confidence wholly back, though I got it in other ways, and kept it until his death. I have played that game a number of times since, but that first time was the only time in my life that I have ever pocketed all the fifteen in a single inning.

My unsuspicious nature has made it necessary for Providence to save me from traps a number of times. Thirty years ago, a couple of Elmira bankers invited me to play the game of "Quaker" with them. I had never heard of the game before, and said that if it required intellect, I should not be able to entertain them. But they said it was merely a game of chance, and required no mentality—so I agreed to make a trial of it. They appointed four in the afternoon for the sacrifice. As the place, they chose a ground-floor room with a large win-

(1876.)

dow in it. Then they went treacherously around and advertised the "sell" which they were going to play upon me.

I arrived on time, and we began the game—with a large and eager free-list to superintend it. These superintendents were outside, with their noses pressed against the window-pane. The bankers described the game to me. So far as I recollect, the pattern of it was this: they had a pile of Mexican dollars on the table; twelve of them were of even date, fifty of them were of odd dates. The bankers were to separate a coin from the pile and hide it under a hand, and I must guess "odd" or "even." If I guessed correctly, the coin would be mine; if incorrectly, I lost a dollar. The first guess I made was "even," and was right. I guessed again, "even," and took the money. They fed me another one and I guessed "even" again, and took the money. I guessed "even" the fourth time, and took the money. It seemed to me that "even" was a good guess, and I might as well stay by it, which I did. I guessed "even" twelve times, and took the twelve dollars. I was doing as they secretly desired. Their experience of human nature had convinced them that any human being as innocent as my face proclaimed me to be, would repeat his first guess if it won, and would go on repeating it if it should continue to win. It was their belief that an innocent would be almost sure at the beginning to guess "even," and not "odd," and that if an innocent should guess "even" twelve times in succession and win every time, he would go on guessing "even" to the end—so it was their purpose to let me win those twelve even dates and then advance the odd dates, one by one, until I should lose fifty dollars, and furnish those superintendents something to laugh about for a week to come.

But it did not come out in that way; for by the time I had won the twelfth dollar and last even date, I withdrew from the game because it was so one-sided that it was monotonous, and did not entertain me. There was a burst of laughter from the superintendents at the window when I came out of the place, but I did not know what they were laughing at nor whom they were laughing at, and it was a matter of no interest to me anyway. Through that incident I acquired an enviable reputation for smartness and penetration, but it was not my due, for I had not penetrated anything that the cow could not have penetrated.

(To be Continued.) MARK TWAIN.

HAS THE CONSERVATIVE SOUTH A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE?

BY A NATIONAL DEMOCRAT.

THE Republican Party was in its origin and remains to this day a sectional party. Its Presidents, without exception, have been men of the North, and by the electoral votes of the Northern States they have attained office. With the exception of Maryland in 1896, no Southern State, save in the reconstruction period, when the white vote was in large part excluded, has ever given its electoral votes to a Republican candidate for the Presidency. The enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, in 1854, precipitated the "irrepressible conflict" upon the slavery question and destroyed the Whig party; for upon that question the party was divided. The majority of the Northern Whigs were ready to join the Republican Party; the Southern Whigs became Democrats. Since that time, with the exception of the years when free government was suppressed in the South and military rule and the negro vote gave the Republicans a foothold there, the white Republicans of the South, a hopeless and impotent minority, have counted for little either in the councils of the party, in elections or in national or local legislation.

The strength of the Republican Party lies altogether in the North, and the sectional character of its aims and policy has been repeatedly reflected in the attempts of its chief statesmen to confirm and perpetuate its sway by diminishing the voice and influence of the Democratic South in Presidential and Congressional elections.

The Democratic Party is powerful alike in the North and in the South. It has elected many Democratic Governors, Congressmen and Senators in the Northern States. The present Governors of six Northern States are Democrats. When the Sixtieth Con-

gress assembles next December, forty-seven Democrats from Northern States will have seats in the House of Representatives. In existence more than a century, the Democracy has always been a national party.

Yet in sixty years no Southern Democrat has been elected to the Presidency. James K. Polk of Tennessee, elected in 1844, was the last. Since the nomination of John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky in 1860, forty-seven years ago, that party has made no Southern man its candidate. McClellan, Seymour, Greeley—who was Northern, and Republican into the bargain—Tilden, Hancock, Cleveland, Bryan and Parker were all of the North.

Thus by custom and prescription it has come about that the men of one-half the Union are excluded from the honors of the Chief Magistracy. No statesman who is a citizen of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas or Virginia—thirteen States, with a geographical area of 793,000 square miles, and a population numbering 23,500,000—may ask his friends, in present conditions, to present his name to the great quadrennial council of his party as an aspirant to the nomination of the high office of President.

Ambition stirs the souls of Southern men, upon many among whom wisdom has been bestowed. The unwritten decree bids them choose, as the goal of the one and the field for the other, no higher place than a State office or a seat in the national House or Senate. The Constitution declares that no bill of attainder shall be passed; yet, by the custom and practice of parties, an unenacted attainder has wrought disqualification of a great part of the citizens of the Republic, debarring them from privileges and honors freely open to their fellow countrymen.

This practice, denounced by reason, repugnant to justice and opposed by considerations of the highest public welfare, is sustained only by an outworn sanction. It is time to make an end of it! The argument of political expediency no longer avails as the warrant and justification for debarring Southern Democrats from the Presidency. Rather have the march of years and of events, the changing opinions of men and the raising of new issues of weight and moment, brought the complete rehabilitation of the South clearly into the view of the Democratic Party as the path of wisdom and of safety.

The brave men of the South have a right to demand, and they should demand in the Presidential year of 1908, that this disability be forever removed, that they no longer be constrained to accept with unquestioning faith and loyalty the candidates the Northern Democrats may offer to their suffrages, and that the pathway to the White House shall once more be opened to their statesmen.

Have they not expiated the errors of the past by almost half a century of renunciation? Passions have cooled, old resentments are forgotten. If the uncalled-for question of the complete "reconstruction" of the South and of its entire loyalty to the Union be raised, let its contribution to the war that effaced the last vestige of Spanish dominion from the New World give the answer.

It is a weary rôle the Democracy of the South has been asked to play—to efface itself, always to defer to the judgment and to confirm the resolves of the Democrats of the North, to accept their candidates without question, to support them with devoted loyalty, and to follow them uncomplainingly to the defeat that, with two exceptions in fifty years, has been their doom. The position of the South has been hard. It has become unbearable. The Democrats of the former Slave States have had no option. Not two courses, only one has lain open to them. However little the candidate might be to their liking, no matter how slight might be the chance of his election, they have been forced by compelling considerations of their own welfare and safety to support him. To elect him, if possible, has been their hope. To maintain at all costs the control of their party, a party of white men, over the offices of their own States, has been with them a policy dictated by supreme need, and, although national candidates supported by the solid South have one after another gone down to defeat, the Democrats of these States have in all these years maintained an efficient party organization and have kept the State Governments in their own hands. They elect their Governors. Legislators chosen by them make the State laws. There is no shadow of doubt that men from any part of the country, in their place and with their experience and their memories of the wreck and ruin, the confusion, the scandals and the horror of negro domination, would do what they have done. Permanently establishing the government of white men in their respective States, which was the matter of supreme moment to

them, they have patiently put up with exclusion from the full privileges of their political birthright.

The time is ripe and overripe for change. It is time to discredit the contention that only a man from one section of the country can be trusted in the office of President. A little more than twenty years ago, Henry W. Grady, at the annual banquet of the New England Society in New York, spoke a message of cordial good-will from the South to the North. In the most eloquent passage of that memorable utterance he said, referring to the war between the States:

"I am glad that the omniscient God held the balance of battle in His mighty hand, and that human slavery was swept forever from American soil and the American Union was saved from the wreck of war."

He spoke of the imperishable brotherhood of the American people, and continued:

"Now, what answer has New England to this message? Will she permit the prejudice of war to remain in the hearts of the conquerors when it has died in the hearts of the conquered? Will she transmit this prejudice to the next generation that in their hearts, which never felt the generous ardor of conflict, it may perpetuate itself? Will she withhold, save in strained courtesy, the hand which, straight from his soldier's heart, Grant offered to Lee at Appomattox?"

It was the privilege of the conqueror to impose terms; the conquered must accept the consequence of defeat. The South took up arms to sever the Union of the States, thereby expecting to secure for itself the full enjoyment of what it considered its rights. It was mistaken; it lost its cause. It was in accordance with logic, with law and with usage, that it should be made to pass through a period of probation before it could be restored to its former status and receive back its political franchise. Well would it have been for the men and women of the Southern States, well for the whole Union, if Abraham Lincoln had been spared to carry out his far-seeing, wise and humane policy of reconstruction, as distinguished from the harsh, punitive policy later adopted under the leadership of Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner, Ben Wade and Henry Winter Davis. To the contention of the Democrats, as expressed by their resolution in the House, that "acts of secession are not valid to destroy the Union and yet valid to destroy State Governments, and the political privileges of their citizens," there was no satisfactory answer.

Lincoln's conditions of reconstruction included the ending of resistance, the appointment of provisional Governors, oaths of amnesty to be taken by at least one-tenth of the white voters, a Republican form of government without interference by Congress in the States, with no mention of negro suffrage.

Between this plan and the plan of reconstruction adopted by Congress in the heat and passion of the conflict with President Andrew Johnson, the plan of dividing the South into military districts under district commanders appointed by the President, having authority to annul the acts of State Governments which were provisional only, and might be superseded or abolished by the Federal law, there was all the difference that lies between a vengeful conqueror, making a desert and calling it peace, and a wise, far-seeing, great-minded ruler recalling to their allegiance his erring but not unforgivable provinces. Lincoln thought the South worth saving as an integral part of the Union of States. Thaddeus Stevens proposed to confiscate all of the estates of the rebels above the value of $10,000 or including more than 200 acres of land; each freedman to receive forty acres of land thus taken, and the residue of the spoil, estimated at that time at $3,500,000,000 to be applied to the payment of the national debt.

Toward a foreign enemy, distrusted and feared, which a conqueror intended to destroy utterly, such a policy would be at least intelligible, whatever might be said of its humanity. But the Southern States were to be brought back into the Union; they were to constitute a part of the national dominion, and in the view of a conqueror with even the slightest perception of the economic necessities of the period of upbuilding to follow the desolation of war, like Grant, who bade Lee retain the horses of his army as they would be needed for the spring ploughing, the policy advocated by Stevens would have seemed one of madness and barbarism.

Then came negro suffrage. If the Thirteenth Amendment prohibiting slavery were ratified, Lincoln was content to be "pretty nearly or quite done with Constitutional Amendments." Not so Sumner and the radical reconstructionists. Resistance on the part of the South to the outrages and oppressions of reconstruction measures, was to be punished by subjecting the white population to the rule of the negro, to the end that the fruits of reconstruction, as the dominant party had planned and imposed it,

might be made secure. The ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment was forced upon the States of the South, and reconstruction, except for its failures, its crimes, its frightful consequences to the people who were its victims, was complete.

Contemporary opinion of this work of oppression, in which passion supplanted patriotism and the establishment of party supremacy was made paramount to the reestablishment of the perfect union of the States, spoke its protest in a memorial addressed to Congress by the New York Chamber of Commerce. A special meeting of that body was held on May 10th, 1866, called to consider and report upon the tax proposed by Congress of five cents a pound on cotton. There was talk at the meeting of the tyranny of taxation without representation. It was pointed out that the unjust impost would deepen the economic blight that already rested upon the South. In the memorial occurs these passages:

"The Committee feel that it would be wiser and better to lift up those who are now cast down, and by just and generous legislation to inspire the Southern people with the hope of better days, rather than by an opposite course to prolong the era of political and commercial distrust. . . .

"It should appear in after-years, when prosperity in the South takes the place of present adversity and fraternal relations are again restored in and out of Congress, that in the days of her weakness the North and West did not take undue advantage of the South."

That voice of the larger statesmanship, that vision of the coming time when the conquered half of the Union should vie with the conquering half in adding to its wealth, and in helping us on in our irresistible progress toward our present greatness among nations, may have been heard, but it was not heeded. Yet it was all easy to foresee. To an unprejudiced mind the planning of a wise and saving policy would not have been difficult. Lincoln was without prejudice. He saw into the future. The "Elder Statesmen" of the New York Chamber of Commerce took thought of future years and gave wise counsel. But long after the last shot was fired, after the soldiers of the victorious army had returned to productive toil, while the defenders of the lost cause, vanquished, tattered, ruined, were seeking ways and means to begin life anew, the vindictive spirit swayed Congress, and in decades of stagnation and poverty the South and the country paid the penalty of that blindness and perversity.

Present opinion of the policy that prevailed forty years ago, and particularly of the policy of placing the ballot in the hands of freed slaves, may be read in a multitude of utterances.

Speaking at Lexington, Virginia, upon the occasion of the centennial of the birth of General Robert E. Lee on January 19th last, Charles Francis Adams used these words:

> "Because no blood flowed on the scaffold and no confiscation of homes or lands marked the close of our war of secession, it has always been assumed by us of the victorious party that extreme, indeed unprecedented, clemency was shown to the vanquished. On the contrary, it may not unfairly be doubted whether a people prostrated after civil strife has often received severer measure than was inflicted on the so-called reconstructed Confederate States immediately succeeding the close of strife."

Discredited at the time, repudiated by the political heirs of its authors and of its beneficiaries, condemned by the blight and disaster inflicted upon millions of people, the policy of ostracism pursued against the South has had its full day. If we are not now one Union of States, we never shall be one; and if either the passions of far-off conflict or the ban of long-past errors are still ghosts that can be made to walk and inspire fright, then it is clear that we are forevermore doomed to be not one people, but two.

It is not so. There is no taint of blood, no caste, no sectional disparity in this country of ours that abridges the privileges or bounds the honorable ambition of the men of one State more than those of another.

The Presidency is open to a candidate from the South.

Other reasons than considerations of human justice and the desire to make reparation for old wrongs, reasons of present vital force, commend the choice of a Southern Democrat for the honors of the nomination and of party leadership in 1908. It would be an act of wise national policy and of economic redemption. It would provide a way of escape from present-day tendencies toward courses of folly and of danger.

The South in coming years is undoubtedly to be the home of conservatism. It is to those States that we must look for sobered public opinion to oppose the radical doctrines that in the North have obscured the ancient faith of both parties, until, as Mr. Cleveland puts it, we see upon the banners borne by their leaders

new and strange symbols betokening the adoption of principles born of the restless, unsteady spirit of innovation, principles untried in our national life and unsanctioned by experience.

Disputable as the assertion may appear, the South, through the greater part of its political history, has been guided by the spirit of conservatism. The Civil War, with all its dreadful waste and fought as it was to destroy the Union, originated chiefly in the South's desire to defend and conserve political and property rights it held to be inalienable. The men of the South believed in the sovereign right of a State to resist Federal encroachment, and impartial history now concedes that the necessary compromises of the Convention that framed the Constitution, compromises without which it would have failed of ratification by the States, left that great question undetermined, to be forever settled by the war of 1861-65. They believed slaves to be property, lawful property. The extreme and unhappy measures to which they resorted were for the protection of what they believed to be the rights of their States, and of their property rights, which they had persuaded themselves were under menace from the triumphant Republican Party.

That the Know-nothing movement obtained no foothold in the South was an evidence also of the conservatism of its people. That manifestation of a narrow and prejudiced radicalism was confined to the North, where it attained to the dignity of party organization and political importance. The speeches of Henry A. Wise of Virginia gave voice to the broader enlightenment of the South, which favored a liberal policy of welcome and assimilation toward emigrants from the Old World, whose sturdy arms and patient toil have been of immeasurable service in the development of our national resources.

If the reproach be brought against the South that it gave hospitable acceptance to the financial doctrines of Mr. Bryan in 1896, it may be replied that his ideas attained their greatest momentum in the West and Northwest, and that belief in the virtues of bimetallism had taken root in so many Republican minds that the Republican candidate of that year doubted the expediency of a gold-standard declaration, and only after being much labored with did he reluctantly consent to make such a declaration himself.

Furthermore, at St. Louis in 1904, Southern delegates showed,

as Mr. John Sharp Williams phrased it, that while their warm hearts prompted them to express by cheers their personal admiration for Mr. Bryan, their cool judgment rejected much of his counsel and sanctioned the choice of other guides.

But most of all, and conspicuously, the conservatism of the South is manifested in its present critical and repelling attitude toward the newer articles of the Bryan faith. While recently solicited expressions from representative Democrats of the North present Mr. Bryan as the candidate certain to be named by the Democratic Convention next year, no other name being under consideration, representative men and many of the prominent Democratic newspapers of the South openly dissent from his doctrines, discountenance his ambition and express the hope that in the coming contest the party banner may be committed to other hands.

From the time when in his Madison Square Garden speech, delivered upon his return from Europe, Mr. Bryan advocated the Government ownership of railroads as a cure for abuses of corporate privilege, thus evidently hoping to take some of the wind out of the sails of Mr. Roosevelt, then and now stretched taut by every favoring breeze of radicalism, the South has looked with cold reserve upon the ambitious projects of the Nebraskan. The people of the Southern States have abundant reason for "viewing with alarm" any project for putting the operation of their railroads, under Federal laws, into Federal hands; and although Mr. Bryan has amended and modified his Government ownership plan, and has even attempted to withdraw it from present public consideration, the South continues to feel and to proclaim a profound distrust of a statesman capable of formulating, out of hand, a policy so repugnant to the people of States that in two campaigns have given him their loyal support.

Of necessity, the South is committed to conservative courses by its very rapid increase in wealth and productive power. Men who, after incredible hardships, by their genius and their toil have accumulated property, are little inclined to put it in jeopardy by inviting to posts of Government control and responsibility the "ambitious, unsteady and unsafe" advocates of strange and subversive policies. Nor can a continuance of industrial prosperity so dearly won be imperilled by encouraging one of the contestants in a mad race of radicalism.

In the past six years, the value of the South's cotton crop has

exceeded by $1,185,963,100 the total value of the whole world's output of gold and silver. In two decades she has produced 184,182,400 bales of cotton, having a value of $7,929,530,837. In gold or credits her exports of raw cotton have brought to the country more than $2,000,000,000 in the last six years. In 1906, she produced 3,467,000 tons of pig-iron, $641,720,000 worth of cotton, farm products of the value of $2,000,000, lumber products of the value of $300,000,000, and the assessed value of her property was $8,025,000,000, an increase of nearly one hundred per cent. over the assessed valuation in 1890.

The South is astir with industrial life. From those States will come in the next decade the chief increase in the national wealth. Her best brains and her stoutest hands are engaged in the regeneration and the building up of her productive industries.

The voices, the votes and the influence of the men who are producing this new wealth in the South may surely be counted upon to help on any intelligently organized effort to rescue the Democratic Party from the perils of reckless adventures, and to set its feet once more in the path of safety.

The South has men of Presidential amplitude and capacity. She has but to come to a consciousness of her right, of her interest, of her power, and to offer to the Democracy of the nation a candidate of recognized worth to secure instant attention. If she would unite her forces with the Democrats of those Northern States where counsels of conservatism still prevail, or where such counsels would at once prevail if the path of hope and of success could be brought into view, the control of the National Convention could be secured, and the dawn of a new day would break upon the disorganized ranks of the Democracy.

These are but some of the reasons, for there are many others, why these States of the Union with a population of over twenty-three millions, the intelligent portion of which is already possessed by the spirit of conservatism, and by inclination no less than by interest is induced to follow conservative courses, should take their right and equal place in the coming great contest. So, I repeat, the path to the White House should not be closed to the men of the South, but rather broadened, that the standard of politics and government may be lifted up in our country.

A NATIONAL DEMOCRAT.

STATE VALUATION OF RAILROADS. SOME OF THE PROBLEMS.

BY CHARLES HANSEL.

In 1900, an exhaustive and intelligent survey was made of every railroad in the State of Michigan—including rolling-stock in and out of the State, and every item owned, controlled or operated by the railroads—in order to determine their value for the purpose of taxation. The problems which arose in this study were numerous and complex, and the Governor decided to appoint a commission, composed of engineers from outside of the State, to adjudicate the various questions propounded by the engineer in charge of the survey. The writer was a member of this commission and fully appreciates the difficulty of establishing the value of a railroad, either for the purpose of taxation or ascertaining its general value to the State, or to all the States.

The Sunberg Committee of the Minnesota State Senate has lately made public a report setting forth the results of its study on the railways of Minnesota. This report does not advise us as to the object in view in attempting to place a valuation upon the property of the several railroads in that State. The terms "cost" and "value" are frequently used synonymously, but it is not always apparent that cost and value are directly related.

If the topography, climate, distribution of fuel and water, and the competition by means of navigation were equal throughout the State, and if an infinite mind had directed the development of the country in the location and construction of its railways, it might be practicable to establish the value and, also, a flat rate for service per mile for all railroads throughout the State. The value of a railroad to an undeveloped country, where it furnishes the only means of transport, cannot be measured by the same rule which may be applied to a more populous section.

Comparisons between the railroads of Great Britain and the United States have been frequently attempted, generally to the disadvantage of this country. Such comparisons are of little value because of the widely different conditions which were attendant upon the building of the first railways in both countries. Great Britain was a developed country, with large industries throughout the land; a heavy traffic awaited more convenient means of transportation than could be afforded by the canal and the highway; and, in the building of the first railroads, the entire subject of location and construction was carefully investigated and supervised by Parliament. Money was cheap. The railroads were carefully and substantially built, and were certain to secure an abundant traffic.

In the United States, the situation was directly opposite. The country was unexplored; little was known of the conditions west of the Mississippi; and there were not more than ten million white inhabitants. Money was dear. There were few factories, and no assurance of traffic to support the railroads. There was no government direction in the location or construction of the railroads; consequently, no large plan was followed in their building. The courage of the individual, unsupported by the assurance of traffic, inaugurated the great system of railroads which to-day is unrivalled.

The average cost of all railways in the United Kingdom is $270,000 per mile. The average cost of all railroads in the United States is $64,000 per mile.

England developed her railroads; the United States was developed by the railroads.

The conditions have been reversed since 1830. The problem with the railroads to-day is not so much how to get more business as how to carry the existing traffic at low cost. Modern methods of construction were not applied in the original building of any of the railroads in the United States. They were built along the line of least resistance, without much regard to grade or curvature. The economic demands of modern traffic have required, upon the part of such railroads as the Pennsylvania, the Baltimore and Ohio, the Vanderbilt lines, the Harriman lines and other trunk lines, that they should expend enormous sums of money on improvements which are, in a large measure, merely corrective of original defects in location and construction which resulted from

former methods and from enforced economy due to the high price of money and the uncertainty of earnings. The policy of the original constructors was to build as cheaply as possible. To cheapness of construction was sacrificed shortness of line and flatness of grade and curvature. This policy was, perhaps, the better one at the time it was adopted, because the country was sparsely settled, and the most sanguine failed to grasp the growth that was to follow. We must, therefore, keep in mind all the items of cost, from the very inception of the railroad to the present time, in an attempt to determine the whole cost; and even though we may be able to determine its cost in this careful manner, we may not be able to determine its value.

In its physical condition and in the quality of its service, the greater part of the mileage of our trunk-line systems equals, and in many respects excels, the railroads of Great Britain and the Continent. The rates of carriage for both passenger and freight are below the rates charged for similar service in any other country, and, at the same time, enormous dividends are paid; while in Great Britain, with rates of carriage considerably higher than here, the dividends paid are entirely unsatisfactory to the holders of the shares; and the last report of the railroads of Great Britain calls serious attention to the low net earnings of the railways and public carriers, and suggests that it may be necessary to advance the rates.

In Great Britain, no new work or general improvement can be carried out without the detailed plans and estimates of cost being first submitted to Parliament; and that body decides whether or not the work is to be done. If the proposed construction is authorized, an issue of fresh shares must be sold to provide money for the improvement. This system naturally increases the capital account of the railroads year by year, the theory being that the stockholder of to-day should not have his dividend diminished for improvements which are for the benefit of the stockholder of to-morrow. The net earning value of the improvements has evidently been overestimated, and the market value of shares is, on most English railways, constantly falling. In the United States, a considerable amount of development and many permanent improvements have been made from the earnings, and the stockholder has been compelled to await the time when, through the great development of the country, he may

receive dividends earned beyond the necessity for improvements and maintenance.

The expenditures called for by the 1907 orders (in the United States) for equipments alone is enormous. One road has ordered 6,700 freight-cars, exclusive of undelivered orders of last year's contracts; 110 passenger-cars, and 191 locomotives, besides 21 due from 1906 orders. Another railroad has ordered 150 locomotives, 4,000 forty-ton box-cars, and 1,000 fifty-ton steel cars. We do not know whether this equipment is to be charged to operating expenses or otherwise. The items are cited as an index of the enormous demand for increased equipment.

Generally speaking, the capital stock issue of the railroads of this country represents increment or appreciation, franchise value and good-will, as most of the railroads have been built from the sale of bonds; and it is only within the last few years that the common stock has been offered to the public for the purpose of making definite improvements or acquiring additional trackage or other facilities. The present value of the stock, therefore, represents the increased value of the property; and the problem seems to be to determine what percentage of this increment is due to the stockholders of the railroads, and what percentage is due to the State. There should be a fair division of this increased value. Since the existing stock is now in the hands of the public, however, and not in the possession of the railroad creating it, it seems difficult to consider any retroactive division of the increment. We should determine how the future increment will be shared between the railroad and the State, whose servant it is.

The work in Michigan was designed to fix a value upon the railroads of that State for the purpose of taxation. The value was divided into physical and franchise, or intangible, value, and the method of determining franchise value in that State was to capitalize the net earnings at five per cent. and add the amount to the estimated value of the property, obtained by adding item to item of the cost of reproduction. Under this system, if the net earning is $1,000 per mile, $20,000 is added to the value of the railroad for the purpose of taxation; and had this $1,000 been expended upon the property, thereby eliminating net earnings and creating physical value and increased efficiency, or if it had been absorbed in operating expenses, the railroad would have saved $19,000 per mile in its taxable value.

If the purpose of determining the physical and franchise value of the railroads within a State is to secure equal taxation on all property, treating all property on a common theory, it would appear that all corporations and business of every kind operating under the protection of patents, good-will, etc., should be assessed on physical and intangible value. The intangible, or use and occupancy, value of a railroad is similar to the patent, trade-mark or good-will value of a business. Many of the manufacturing industries charge a large amount of their capital issue to patents and good-will; and, indeed, in many cases, the costly factory would have small value for any other purpose than the specific one it was built to serve. The United States Steel Corporation might be selected as a notable example.

All business organizations and corporate companies, other than public utilities, are free to limit their productions, and are not compelled to operate at a loss in order to preserve their charter rights. In the case of a railroad or other public utility, however, certain service must be continuously given for the benefit of the public, whether this service is performed at a profit or at a loss to the corporation. It is fair to presume that neither the railroads, or public utilities, nor the private industries, or industrial corporations, would care to eliminate the intangible, patent, trade-mark or good-will value in estimating the total value of their respective properties, except, perhaps, for the purpose of taxation.

Since the railroad and other public utilities are common carriers and the servants of the people, and are subject to special police regulation which requires them to perform public services which, in some cases, are unprofitable, may not the value of a railroad be properly considered on a different theory from that applied to other property not operating under a similar charter?

The earning power of a railroad is gauged by the volume of business, the cost per ton or passenger mile and the fixed charges. The cost per train mile is approximately the same whether the train has a capacity of two hundred tons or four hundred tons. It is evident, therefore, that the earning capacity of a railroad which, by reason of its flat grades and easy curvature, can haul four hundred tons per train would be, on a given tonnage, nearly one hundred per cent. more than the earnings of another railroad which, with the same equipment and crew, could haul but two

hundred tons per train. It will be frequently found that the road capable of carrying the greater tonnage, at smaller cost per ton mile, would cost much less to build than the road of smaller capacity costing more to construct, for the reason that the first-named road lies in easier country or has been located with greater skill. Assuming, however, that each road costs $50,000 per mile to build, one earns $2,000 per mile net, the other $1,000 per mile net. According to the Michigan theory, the first road would be taxed on a basis of $90,000 per mile, the second on a basis of $70,000 per mile. This scheme may work out fairly well for purposes of taxation, but the value of these two roads, viewed by an investor, would be in favor of the road earning $2,000 per mile, as it has the capacity of earning twice the dividends. It is, of course, difficult to insure accurate and equal accounting to determine the net earnings of a railroad, and the gross earnings cannot be considered as a measure of the value because of the difference in capacity to haul freight cheaply. The gross earnings of one road, by reason of the business carried, may be greater and its net earnings less than that of another railroad which, by reason of its location, organization, etc., is able to carry its business at a much smaller cost per ton per mile. If it were practicable to determine what the net earnings should be, it would be practicable to base one value of a railroad entirely upon its net earnings. Net earnings are properly declared after fixed charges and operating expenses are paid. In order to provide a check on the fixed charges, it seems necessary to fix upon a plan for determining the cost of the physical property of the railroad.

The independence of each State complicates many of the difficulties. One of the problems before the Michigan Commission was to determine the value of a railroad terminal as compared with the value of the road per mile outside the terminal. This question is difficult to determine even though the terminals and all the mileage lie within a single State; but, as is frequently the case, both terminals may lie without the State. The value of a railroad for the purpose of conducting traffic is its continuity of track, its physical condition, its terminals and general trackage, and its motive power and rolling-stock. Generally speaking, the oldest railroads have the largest terminal properties, and, as the country developed, these terminal properties became more and more valuable; and, in some cases, they became the most im-

portant feature in the value of the railroads because, by reason of owning these large terminal properties, they were able to develop and furnish terminal facilities for new railroads seeking entrance to the cities in which the terminals were located. The value of these terminals to the old roads is often sufficient to offset the excessive cost of the original construction of the line between and the improvements which have followed.

There are cases where it would be economical for a railroad to abandon its line entirely and build through different territory between two large cities, thereby saving in operating cost for carrying the same tonnage between the same terminals. This saving in cost of operation, if capitalized at five per cent., would more than equal the cost of building a new line. Towns and industries, however, have grown up along the old line which must be served, and railroads are generally prohibited from acquiring parallel lines. Consequently, the higher cost of carrying between the terminals must continue; and, if a new organization constructs a line in the easier territory suggested, and secures satisfactory terminals, it is apparent that the traffic of the new company can be conducted at a smaller cost, providing, however, they can secure the tonnage. The securing of business depends not only on convenient terminals and efficient organization, but also upon the contract agreements the road has with other railroads which are in a position to give or withhold the business.

It seems to be generally conceded that many of the railroads of this country have abused their corporative privileges and that the State and Federal Governments should take supervision over their general conduct. There is danger, however, of unjust legislation if each State works independently. In some States, statutes have been enacted covering the control of some specific part of a railroad, such as the crossing of one railroad with another at grade, notably in Illinois, Ohio and Indiana. Under the new statutes in Indiana, a new railroad building through that State is compelled to pay all the cost of installing the grade crossing, together with the installation of a complete system of interlocking and signalling and its operation and maintenance forever. While this law was intended to protect traffic at grade crossings, it puts upon the junior road a very large expense.

The cost of a railroad is one thing. The value of a railroad may be measured in many different ways according to the neces-

sity for its continued operation. The investor gauges its value according to its ability to pay fixed charges and dividends. The State may measure its value on the broader lines of the greatest good to the greatest number, or it may narrow its view by considering its tax-producing appraisal. The town or village or industry which has had birth and life by reason of the railroads view its value from the point of view of local selfish interest; and so we find many meanings for the word "value" as applied to railroads.

If we take the broad view of its general usefulness we may question the propriety of placing a greater value on one part of a railroad than on another part or we may not say that one railroad is more valuable than another to the State; but rather that, since it is the continuity of track and the service rendered that make a railroad valuable, every foot of it is just as valuable as every other foot, regardless of the difference in cost between the various sections. After all, we may not be far wrong when we say that, since the ability to pay taxes and dividends depends upon the ability to earn, the true measure of value is its net earning.

The railroad has another value not directly measured by the standard of money—and that is, its value as one of the great promoters of temperance, industry and loyalty. The railway management long since uttered its ultimatum against the use of intoxicants, and to-day we find no more potent force for the promotion of temperance than the railroads. A man who drinks need not hope for employment on a railroad. There are no more loyal servants than the railroad commands. All of the various branches of the service are thoroughly organized and year by year are gleaning, from experience and study, the knowledge of how to secure the best results. The real working forces of our railroads are constantly alert to the necessity of vigilance and progress.

If any one doubts the earnestness and ability of the railroad forces let him attend a convention of the American Railway Association, the Maintenance of Way Association or the Master Car-Builders, Master Mechanics, or the Signal Associations. He will learn that day by day, for years, these men have worked on the solution of all the multifarious problems attendant upon the building, maintaining and operation of railroads. If the rail-

roads were able and willing to work to their adopted standards, we would find the number of accidents greatly reduced.

The majority of railroad men would welcome State or Federal supervision of the railroads so that they might have the power of the law behind their specifications. Individual States have attempted radical legislation as a corrective of the evils by forcing a blanket rate for carrying passengers. This will not correct the trouble, nor is it even justice.

What we need is a safe and efficient railway system throughout the land, which will give impartial service. We need more railroad facilities. We need to know the method of issuing and placing the securities which form so large a part of our investments. We want the railroad to earn money enough to build, equip and operate according to the highest-class specifications which it is reasonable to impose under the various conditions. Can we not accomplish this by Federal supervision?

The first step should be to secure knowledge of actual conditions by a careful appraisal of the costs, the physical condition, the operating expenses, and the business available. While this appraisal is being made, chartered public accountants or Government examiners should prepare a statement of the accounts, covering, as far as possible, all the construction charges. Having ascertained the physical condition, we should compel the installation of the improvements necessary to bring each particular road up to the standard determined upon for its class.

Knowing all the conditions, we must sanction rates which will provide revenue sufficient to enable the roads to carry out the improvements we require. There should be Government inspection of the accounting, of the physical conditions and of the operating methods; and these inspectors should be shifted continually, so that no man might check his own work.

In order to accomplish this, it seems necessary to organize the several State Railroad Commissions into a national body, the chairman of which might properly be a Federal appointee. This national body could then formulate regulations which would insure uniform standards and could conduct all the work outlined without involving the question of State rights. All accidents could be investigated by the engineers of the several States and reported to the national body, thus insuring uniform action and avoiding large expense. The national organization could formu-

late and recommend legislation, so that we might have uniform laws to govern the railroads.

It is likely that this national body would be of such great importance to each State that the best men would be selected to serve upon it. By this means, the importance of the Railroad Commission of each State would be increased and the whole country would be benefited. The railroads would know exactly what was to be expected; and, while the road might be inter-State so far as boundary lines were concerned, its operation would be simplified by having the same conditions to meet in every State. We should avoid any attitude which would tend to throttle progress in any of the details of a railroad; we should govern in such manner as to invite capital to the building of much-needed facilities; and we should, and can, place a premium on the honest and able administration of every railroad.

CHARLES HANSEL.

THE NEW THEOLOGY IN ENGLAND.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON.

"And he said, So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground; and should sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how."

I.—THE REV. R. J. CAMPBELL, THEOLOGIAN.

THERE are signs that we are in the midst of a religious awakening equal in power and promise to any in history, more impersonal than any in history. As the wind bloweth whither it listeth, so the wind of the Spirit is blowing on the hearts of men, kindling in them a new sense of reverence before the divinity of life. It is said that Luther once declared that in fifteen years there would be no Catholic Church. But, in reality, the Catholic Church owes as much to Luther as do the Protestant Churches and drew from the religious upheaval of his day a new accession of spiritual force and purity. In like manner, one might have thought, a generation ago, when the tide of Darwinism was in full flood, that in fifteen years there would be no more Christian belief. Just the opposite result has come from Darwin's teaching—as was inevitable, seeing that it contains so much spiritual truth. Christian belief, purified by the touch with nature's forces, has burst forth into new life and growth which is already transforming the thought of the world, and with it the Christian Churches.

The tides of thought set in motion by Darwin are washing away the incrustations of centuries. It may seem strange, but it is true, that one result of Darwin's work is to bring us closer to the teaching of Jesus; less strange, perhaps, if we remember that Jesus was full of the sense of the growing forces of nature, drawing thence all his images of spiritual life, and teaching evolution in a far wider sense than Darwin. The appeal to

experience, the return to nature, must bring us closer to the thought and feeling of Jesus. So it is natural, while it is also wonderful, that the great recent growth in knowledge should bring out the teaching of Jesus with fresh lustre and power.

Darwin studied natural life with reverence, courage, intuition and faith. The movement which we may call the New Theology studies all life, natural and spiritual, in the same spirit. And, just as many others were feeling their way to the teaching of evolution at the same time as Darwin, so many hearts in many countries are awakening to-day to the new spiritual light. One of the most forceful and eloquent prophets of the new views in England is Mr. R. J. Campbell, who has succeeded Dr. Parker, as minister of the City Temple. His recent book, "The New Theology," has been made the subject of scores of sermons, in praise or blame. An American edition has brought it within the reach of readers in this country. I shall try to give some account of its thought, as far as possible, in the writer's own words.

The New Theology is essentially Christian, in the fullest sense. It holds that the religious experience which came to the world in Jesus can supply all needs, and only requires to be freed from limiting statements in order to lay firm hold once more upon the civilized world. The New Theology is an untrammelled return to the Christian sources in the light of modern thought. Its starting-point is a re-emphasis of the Christian belief in the divine immanence in the universe and in mankind. The New Theology holds that we know nothing and can know nothing of the Infinite Cause whence all things proceed except as we read Him in His universe and in our own souls. It is the immanent God with whom we have to do; and, if this fact is once fully grasped, it will simplify all religious conceptions and give a working faith.

The word "God" stands for many things; but, in the thought of the movement we are considering, it stands for the uncaused Cause of all existence, the unitary principle implied in all multiplicity. Every one of necessity believes in this infinite unity. The finite universe is one means to the self-realization of the infinite. Supposing God to be the infinite consciousness, there are still possibilities for that consciousness which it can only know

as it becomes limited. Those to whom this thought is unfamiliar have only to look at their own experience to see how reasonable it is. You may know yourself to be a brave man, but you will know it in a higher way if you are a soldier facing the cannon's mouth; you will know it in a still different way if you have to face the hostility and prejudice of a whole community for standing by something which you believe to be right. It is one thing to know that you are a lover of truth; it is another thing to realize it when your immediate interest and your immediate safety would bid you hedge and lie. These facts of human nature may tell us something about God. To all eternity God is what He is and never can be other, but it will take Him to all eternity to live out all that He is. In order to manifest the possibilities of His being, God must limit that being. There is no other way in which the fullest self-realization can be attained. No part of the universe has value in and for itself alone; it has value only as it expresses God. To see one form break up and another take its place is no calamity, however terrible it may seem, for it only means that the life contained in that form has gone back to the universal life, and will express itself again in some higher and better form. To think of God in this way is an inspiration and a help in the doing of the humblest tasks. It redeems life from the dominion of the sordid and the commonplace. It supplies an incentive to endeavor, and fills the heart with hope and confidence. To put it in homely, every-day phraseology, God is getting at something and we must help Him. We must be His eyes and hands and feet; we must be laborers together with Him. This fits in with what science has to say about the very constitution of the universe; it is all of a piece; there are no gaps anywhere. It is a divine experiment without risk of failure, and we must interpret it in terms of our own highest.

It follows from what has already been said that we know nothing and can know nothing of God except as we read Him in the universe, and we can only interpret the universe in terms of our own consciousness. In other words, man is a microcosm of the universe. What the universe may be, we do not know. We can only know it in so far as it produces images in our minds, and enters into our individual consciousness. The New Theology starts with the assumption that the universe is God's thought about Himself, and that "in so far as I am able to think it

along with Him, 'I and my Father (even metaphysically speaking) are one.'" The so-called material world is our consciousness of reality exercising itself along a strictly limited plane. We can know just as much as we are constituted to know, and no more. But it is all a question of consciousness. The larger and fuller a consciousness becomes, the more it can grasp and hold of the consciousness of God, the fundamental reality of our being as of everything else.

We have an opening into larger fields of consciousness in our knowledge of what is called the subconscious mind, or the subliminal consciousness. Our discovery of its existence has taught us that our ordinary consciousness is but a small corner of our larger consciousness. It has been well compared to an island in the Pacific, which is really the summit of a mountain whose base is miles below the surface. Summit and base are one, and yet no one realizes when standing on the little island that he is perched at the very top of a mountain peak. So it is with our every-day consciousness of ourselves; we find it difficult to realize that this consciousness is not all there is of us. But when we come to examine the facts, the conclusion is irresistible, that of our truer, deeper being we are ordinarily quite unconscious. Beyond the ordinary self, whom we are familiar with, there is a larger self, vastly greater than we know. This larger self is, in all probability, a perfect and eternal spiritual being integral to the being of God. The surface self is the incarnation of some portion of that true eternal self which is one with God.

Another inference from our knowledge of the subconscious mind is that of the fundamental unity of the whole human race. Ultimately your being and mine are one, and we shall come to know it. Individuality only has meaning in relation to the whole, and individual consciousness can only be fulfilled by expanding until it embraces the whole. Nothing that exists in our consciousness now and constitutes our self-knowledge will ever be obliterated or ever can be, but in a higher state of existence we shall realize it to be a part of the universal stock. "I shall not cease to be I, nor you to be you; but there must be a region of experience where we shall find that you and I are one."

A third inference, already implied in all that has gone before, is that the highest of all selves, the ultimate Self of the universe, is God. The New Testament speaks of man as body, soul and

spirit. The body is the thought form through which the individuality finds expression on our present limited plane; the soul is a man's consciousness of himself as apart from all the rest of existence and even from God—it is the bay seeing itself as the bay and not as the ocean; the spirit is the true being thus limited and expressed—it is the deathless divine within us. The soul, therefore, is what we make it; the spirit we can neither make nor mar, for it is at once our being and God's. "God is my deeper Self and yours, too; He is the Self of the universe and knows all about it." He is never baffled and cannot be baffled; the whole cosmic process is one long incarnation and uprising of the being of God from itself to itself. The being of God is a complex unity, containing within itself and harmonizing every form of self-consciousness that can possibly exist. No one need be afraid that in believing this he is assenting to the final obliteration of his own personality. No form of self-consciousness can ever perish. It completes itself in becoming infinite, but it cannot be destroyed.

We come now to the personality of Jesus. In the view of the New Theology, the character of Jesus represents the highest standard for human attainment; it is an ideal already manifested in history. If the life of Jesus was lived consistently, from first to last, with perfect love, directed toward impersonal ends, in such a way as to be and do the utmost for the whole, what can we call it except divine? We should restrict the word "divine" to the kind of consciousness which knows itself to be, and rejoices to be, the expression of a love which is a consistent self-giving to the universal life. Jesus was divine because his life was governed wholly by this principle.

In Jesus, humanity was divinity, and divinity humanity. Christendom recognizes the life of Jesus as the standard of human excellence. But this is not to say that we shall never reach that standard too. Quite the contrary. We must reach it, in order to fulfil our destiny and to crown and complete the work of Jesus. Traditional orthodoxy would restrict the description, "God manifest in the flesh," to Jesus alone. The New Theology would extend it in a lesser degree to all humanity, and would maintain that, in the end, it will be as true of every individual soul as ever it was of Jesus: "as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one of us. . . . I

in them and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one."

The reason why the name of Jesus has such power in the world to-day is because a perfectly noble and unselfish life was crowned by a perfectly sacrificial death. The life and death together were a perfect self-offering, the offering of the unit to the whole, the individual to the race, the Son to the Father, "and, therefore, the greatest manifestation of the innermost of God that has ever been made to the world." In this self-offering was the perfect manifestation of the eternal Christ, the humanity which reveals the innermost of God, the humanity which is love. To partake of the benefits of that Atonement, we have to unite ourselves to it; "to die to self with Christ, and rise with Him into the experience of larger, fuller life, the life eternal."

While the resurrection is a symbol, the New Theology holds that it is also a fact, taking its stand on broad ground that, without a belief in a resurrection, Christianity could not have made a start at all. The disciples must have become convinced that they had seen Jesus face to face, after the world believed Him to be dead and buried. How are we to account for this confidence of theirs that they had once more looked upon the face of Jesus?

In the view of Mr. Campbell, insistence upon the impossibility of a physical resurrection presumes an essential distinction between spirit and matter, which he cannot admit. The philosophy underlying the New Theology may be called a monistic idealism, and monistic idealism recognizes no fundamental distinction between matter and spirit. The fundamental reality is consciousness. The so-called material world is the product of consciousness exercising itself along a certain limited plane; the next stage of consciousness above this is not an absolute break with it, although it is an expansion of experience or a readjustment of focus. "Admitting that individual consciousness persists beyond the change called death, it only means that such consciousness is being exercised along another plane; from a three-dimensional, it has entered a four-dimensional, world. This new world is no less and no more material than the present; it is all a question of the range of consciousness. . . . Does this throw any light upon the mysterious appearances and disappearances of the body of Jesus? . . . Here we have a being, whose consciousness belongs to the fourth-dimensional plane, adjusting Himself to

the capacity of those on a three-dimensional plane for the sake of proving beyond dispute that—

> 'Life is ever lord of death,
> And love can never lose its own.'

This seems to me the most reasonable explanation of the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus, and the impression produced by them on the minds of His disciples."

So far, the views of this eloquent preacher on the main points of Christian teaching. I have used his own words as far as possible throughout, inserting marks of quotation where misunderstanding might arise from the use of the first person. It must be held in mind that Mr. Campbell addresses himself with persuasive reasonableness to the many doubts and objections which his views cannot fail to arouse. To do full justice to his thought and method, readers must go to his book.

II.—SIR OLIVER LODGE, SCIENTIST.

Theology has gone thus far toward an understanding and reconciliation with the modern philosophic spirit. Let us see what science, the other pole of organized thought, has to say of the same high problems. It would, of course, have been conceivable that the new forces of knowledge should profoundly affect theology, but that, at the same time, students of science should restrict themselves to the study of natural phenomena, and hold aloof from all religious themes. They have not done so, however. One of the most eminent men of science, Sir Oliver Lodge, has devoted years of thought and study to these very questions, viewed in the light of scientific knowledge. Let me try to give some account of his conclusions, as stated in his recent book, "The Substance of Faith," once more using his own words as far as possible.

In the view of Sir Oliver Lodge, the law of the Universe, and the will of God are to be regarded as in some sort synonymous terms. It is impossible properly to define such a term as "God," but it is permissible reverently to use the term for a mode of regarding the Universe as invested with what in human beings we call personality, consciousness and other forms of intelligence, emotion and will. These attributes, undoubtedly possessed by a part, are not to be denied to the whole, however little we may be able as yet to form a clear conception of their larger meaning.

We are a part of the Universe, and the Universe is a part of God. Even we also, therefore, have a Divine Nature and may truly be called sons and co-workers with God.

The process of evolution can be regarded as the gradual unfolding of the Divine Thought, or *Logos,* throughout the universe, by the action of Spirit upon matter. Achievement seems as if irradiated by a certain happiness: and thus a poet like Browning is led to speak of the Divine Being as renewing his ancient creative rapture in the processes of nature: joying in the sunbeams basking upon sand, sharing the pleasures of the wild life in the creatures of the woods,

> "Where dwells enjoyment there is He;"

and so to conjecture that

> "God tastes an infinite joy
> In infinite ways—one everlasting bliss
> From whom all being emanates, all power
> Proceeds; in whom is life for evermore."

The Intelligence which guides things is not something external to the scheme, clumsily interfering with it by muscular action, as we are constrained to do, when we interfere at all; but is something within and inseparable from it, as human thought is within and inseparable from the action of our brains. In some partially similar way we conceive that the multifarious processes in nature, with neither the origin nor maintenance of which we have had anything to do, must be guided and controlled by some Thought and Purpose, immanent in everything, but revealed only to those with sufficiently awakened perceptions. To the highest members of our race, the Intelligence and Purpose, underlying the whole mystery of existence, elaborating the details of evolution, are clearly visible.

The double nature of man,—the inherited animal tendencies and the inspired spiritual aspirations,—if they can both be fully admitted, reconcile many difficulties. Our body is an individual collocation of cells, which began to form and grow together at a certain date, and will presently be dispersed; but the constructing and dominating reality called our "soul" did not then begin to exist, nor will it cease with bodily decay. Interaction with the material world then began, and will then cease, but we ourselves in essence are persistent and immortal. Even our personality

and individuality may be persistent, if our character be sufficiently developed to possess a reality of its own. In our present state, truly, the memory of our past is imperfect or non-existent; but, when we waken and shake off the tenement of matter, our memory and consciousness may enlarge too, as we rejoin the larger self of which only a part is now manifested in mortal flesh.

The ancient doctrine of a previous state of existence, of which we are now entranced into forgetfulness, is inculcated in the well-known lines of Wordsworth's "Ode":

> "Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
> The Soul that rises with us, our life's star,
> Hath had elsewhere its setting,
> And cometh from afar:
> Not in entire forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness,
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
> From God, who is our home."

The idea of gradual incarnation—growing as the brain and body grow, but never attaining any approach to completeness even in the greatest of men—sets one above innumerable petty difficulties, and seems an opening in the direction of the truth. On this view, the portion of the larger self incarnated in an infant or a feeble-minded person is but small: in normal cases, more appears as the body is fitted to receive it. In some cases, much appears, thus constituting a great man; while in others, again, a link of occasional communication is left open between the part and the whole—producing what we call "genius." Second childishness is the gradual abandonment of the material vehicle, as it gets worn out or damaged. But, during the episode of this life, man is never a complete self, his roots are in another order of being, he is moving about in worlds not realized, he is as if walking in a vain shadow and disquieting himself in vain.

As to the question whether we ever again live on earth, it appears unlikely on this view that a given developed individual will appear again in unmodified form. If my present self is a fraction of a larger self, some other fraction of that larger self may readily be thought of as arriving,—to gain practical experience in the world of matter, and to return with developed character to the whole whence it sprang. And this operation may be repeated frequently; but these hypothetical fractional appearances can hardly be spoken of as reincarnations. We must not dogma-

tize, however, on the subject, and the case of the multitudes at present thwarted and returned at infancy may demand separate treatment.

The idea of Redemption or Regeneration, in its highest and most Christian form, is applicable to both soul and body. The life of Christ shows us that the whole man can be regenerated as he stands; that we have not to wait for a future state, that the Kingdom of Heaven is in our midst and may be assimilated by us here and now. The term "salvation" should not be limited to the soul, but should apply to the whole man. What kind of transfiguration may be possible, *or may have been possible,* in the case of a perfectly emancipated and glorified body we do not yet know.

The most essential element in Christianity is its conception of a human God; of a God, in the first place, not apart from the Universe, not outside it and distinct from it, but immanent in it; yet not immanent only, but actually incarnate, incarnate in it and revealed in the Incarnation. The nature of God is displayed in part by everything, to those who have eyes to see; but it is displayed most clearly and fully by the highest type of existence, the highest experience to which the process of evolution has so far opened our senses. The Humanity of God, the Divinity of man, is the essence of the Christian revelation.

Here is the central thought of Sir Oliver Lodge, speaking as a representative of the foremost science of our time. One cannot fail to see that, point by point, he is teaching the same doctrine as Mr. Campbell: the immanent God; the personal self as only a fragment of the higher self; the higher self as a link, a stepping-stone to the divine consciousness; the incarnation of Jesus, His life and death, as revelations of divine consciousness, and therefore a prophecy of that future when "we shall be like Him in glory." The thoughts, the very words, are the same. Not that either borrows from the other; but the same Spirit is blowing on the hearts of both, telling of a new awakening of the religious life of mankind.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

CHARLES ANDERSON DANA.

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

It is, from many points of view, an admirable piece of biography that is presented in a volume of some 550 pages, "The Life of Charles A. Dana," by James Harrison Wilson, LL.D., late Major-General U.S.V. (Harpers). The author met the subject of the book in the spring of 1863, during the operations against Vicksburg; and he served with him in the field during three of the most memorable campaigns of the Civil War. As a bureau officer of the War Department, General Wilson subsequently served under him for a short period, when Mr. Dana was Assistant Secretary of War. The two became close personal friends, and their intimacy remained unbroken up to Mr. Dana's death in October, 1897. Under the circumstances, the biographer was peculiarly well fitted to depict the first fifty years of his subject's life, and to describe the remarkable, if not unique, qualifications of his friend for the task upon which he entered early in 1868, when he assumed the editorship of the New York "Sun." If the book be open to criticism on any score, it is, perhaps, on this, that a great majority of readers might have liked to see a larger proportion of the space at the author's disposal devoted to the three decades during which Mr. Dana made a deep and lasting impression on his contemporaries, and his use of which in the development of a great newspaper constitutes his best title to remembrance. It is the last thirty years of his life to which, within the brief compass of this notice, we shall largely confine ourselves, after a cursory survey of the preceding many-sided experiences by means of which Charles A. Dana was so thoroughly equipped for the function of Editor-in-Chief.

I.

Born in 1819 at Hinsdale, a small town in Western New Hamp-

shire, Charles Anderson Dana was the descendant of a family which for six generations had been settled in New England. If we except an attenuated stream of Italian influence, derived from an ancestor of the first settler, the Dana family was of absolutely pure New England blood, which partly accounts, as the biographer suggests, for the fact that Mr. Dana all his life was one of the most stalwart believers in the American people, and one of the most devoted partisans of American institutions that the country has produced. For the self-reliance which was to form a distinctive element of his character, he was, doubtless, indebted in part to the circumstance that, after he entered his twelfth year, he had to be self-supporting, and to begin the process of self-education which he pursued until the end of his life. While still a youth, he taught himself Latin, Greek and German; and it was almost exclusively through his own exertions that he fitted himself to matriculate without conditions in 1839 at Harvard College, from which institution he ultimately received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, as of the class of 1843. He maintained himself for some two years at college, partly by school-teaching, and partly by newspaper writing; but, in the autumn of 1841, he joined the Brook Farm Association, which represented an honest and conscientious effort to combine cooperative labor with democratic living and intellectual improvement.

Here he remained until the summer of 1846, when he removed to New York, where he presently secured from Horace Greeley, whose acquaintance he had made five years before, employment as City Editor of the "Tribune." He remained attached to that paper as City Editor, European Correspondent, Managing Editor and Chief-of-staff, or First-Assistant Editor, until March, 1862, when he found further association with Greeley impracticable, and tendered to the trustees of the "Tribune" his resignation, which by them was reluctantly accepted. His literary activity had not been by any means confined to the columns of the "Tribune"; for in 1854 he had found time to edit "Putnam's Monthly," and in 1857 had brought out the "Household Book of Poetry," which has gone through many editions, and is still looked upon as one of the best collections, if not the very best, of the kind published in the English language. With his old Brook Farm friend, George Ripley, he entered in 1858 on the preparation of "The American Cyclopædia," the last volume of which

was completed in 1863. His receipts from the copyright on these works, his dividends from the shares in the "Tribune," of which he had become an owner, and his salary, which gradually had been raised to $50 a week, enabled him and his family to live in comfort till the outbreak of the war between the States.

Immediately after terminating his connection with the "Tribune," he became associated with the War Office, where he maintained the most confidential relations to Lincoln and Stanton, and at more than one critical conjuncture was known as "the eyes of the Government at the front." Resigning the post of Assistant Secretary of War in July, 1865, he went to Chicago for the purpose of becoming editor of the "Daily Republican." He made the "Republican" a brilliant, able and interesting newspaper; but, as the promised capital of half a million dollars was not forthcoming, he decided, after a year of struggle and disappointment, to give up the enterprise, and buy or found a newspaper in New York. Late in December, 1867, or early in January, 1868, he closed the contract for the control of the New York "Sun," to which paper was to be given the fruitful remainder of his life.

II.

Summary as is this catalogue of the principal events in that part of Charles A. Dana's life which preceded his acquisition of the "Sun," it cannot have failed to demonstrate that no man, European or American, ever came to the editorship of a high-aiming journal so qualified by wide and ripe experience, and by diversified attainments. He knew his own country, North and South, East and West, as few have known it; he had learned to know Europe as an eye-witness of the fateful scenes of 1848; he knew books; he was proficient in a dozen languages and literatures; he was thoroughly conversant with public affairs not only as an observer and as a commentator, but as an actor; he had held for years a high and onerous post in the Federal administration, and he had made the intimate acquaintance of a multitude of public men in military and civil life. Above all, he knew the newspaper business with absolute completeness; its methods, its limitations, its purposes, its aspirations and its possibilities. He had come to be, in fine, an incomparable repository of knowledge, which was to be applied by him to the criticism of public affairs, with a wisdom acknowledged by impartial onlookers, and with

a benignity, a generosity and an acute sense of justice which only those nearest to him could at the time thoroughly appreciate, but which history will recognize.

As we pointed out at the time of his death, there has never lived in the United States a more genuine American than was Charles A. Dana. Never has our Commonwealth possessed a citizen more deeply impregnated by birth and education with the spirit of our institutions, or more thoroughly and fruitfully conversant with their workings and their transformations during the nineteenth century. From this point of view he has been at times compared with Horace Greeley. It is certain, however, that his mental training, in adolescence and early manhood, was much more broad, rigorous and stimulating, and that his stores of knowledge were far ampler and more various than were those of the elder journalist. Yet Greeley himself was not more purely and unmistakably a product of this country, of its traditions and of its atmosphere, than was Dana, whose stalwart and uncompromising Americanism was the outcome of ante-natal prepossessions, as well as of deep-rooted convictions and lifelong associations. Dana differed from Greeley, however, not only by virtue of a more virile temperament and much greater moral steadiness, but also in this significant particular that a far wider and more profound intellectual training had given him more unerring intuition, greater range of vision and of sympathy and a more powerful logical faculty. He had none of Greeley's premature self-confidence, and none of the latter's ill-timed irresolution after the die was cast.

We have seen that the habits and methods of application which Dana acquired at college gave him the instrument of self-instruction, but we should add that, from that day to the close of his life, he found or made opportunities of study amid the incessant imperative duties of a most exacting calling. Without underrating the charm or the value of classical history and literature, he used his academical attainments to unlock the treasures handed down in those languages of modern Europe which are daughters of the Latin speech, and he used his mastery of his native Anglo-Saxon to obtain an intimate acquaintance, not only with the kindred German, but with the allied Scandinavian tongues. As regards the scope and thoroughness of his literary accomplishments, he has never had an equal in this country within his own

profession. Literature, however, represented only one side of his equipment. He was one of the few men who, despite the cares of business and the constant labors of an arduous profession, have been able to keep pace with the current of scientific research and speculation; with the biological, botanical, astronomical, dynamical and philosophical discoveries and tendencies of his own time. Nor should the fact be overlooked that, in a singularly prehensile and trustworthy memory, were garnered the products of long observation and reflection on political, historical, sociological and economical phenomena. In a word, it could be said of him with incomparably more truthfulness than it was said of Ferdinand Lassalle that he came to journalism armed with all the learning of his epoch.

III.

As we pointed out in some former comments on the subject of this biography, it is characteristic of a great editor, as of a veritable social philosopher, that there is no topic of human interest in which he does not feel a lively intellectual concern. "*Nihil humani a me alienum puto*"—"I count nothing alien to me that is human"—should be recognized as the index of his attitude and the inspiration of his work. To an abiding and a pervasive sense of human solidarity, however, the heart must contribute as well as the head. Only an instinctive sympathy and a personal experience of struggle and hardship can reveal to the moral nature the pathos and solemnity of the problems of man's existence. The essential conditions of such a revelation were not lacking, as we have seen, in the early life of Charles A Dana. Not ignorant of poverty, he knew how to commiserate the poor. Himself unpropped by any of the accidents of fortune, he longed to make his fellow workers independent of such accidents. That the wish should become a hope and a deliberate endeavor was, perhaps, to be expected from an ardent youth in the fifth decade of the nineteenth century, when the minds of men were rocked by the ground-swell of revolution, and when the watchers on the hilltops caught, as they thought, glimpses of a wider and more benignant social order. Rightly to interpret Mr. Dana's subsequent career as editor of "The Sun," adequately to appreciate the sympathetic as well as the dynamic aspect of his character, one should not lose sight of the circumstance chronicled above, to wit, his entrance at the age of twenty-three into that band of wistful

reformers of society, whose Brook Farm experiment was a failure more illustrious than many a brilliant self-seeking success. It is also noteworthy that his first newspaper training was obtained in association with the "Harbinger," a journal avowedly devoted to social renovation. The imprint made upon the plastic fibre of his young manhood by such aspirations and experiences was never effaced. The influence of a youthful, but sincere and fervent, effort at the amelioration of social conditions ran like a silver streak, unchecked by the less sanguine hopes and the sobered convictions of riper years, through more than half a century of journalistic work. Hence it came to pass that, through the fifteen years of his association with the "Tribune" and the twenty-nine years of his control over "The Sun," Mr. Dana never shut his columns to the dreams and the proposals of any honest devotee to the improvement of society. He never denied to social reformers, what they vainly may have sought in many quarters, a forum of free discussion. An audience he never refused, though approval he might withhold. His reason may have forbidden him to countersign their arguments, but his heart told him that their aims at least were right.

The time has come to say that the magnitude of the services which Mr. Dana rendered to the "New York Tribune," considered as an organ of popular education, has never been appreciated. He himself was never known to allude to the self-effacement which obscured the volume and the value of his contributions to that newspaper. He seemed to have the kind of pride which shrinks even from the semblance of self-vindication, and which feels too firm a confidence in the power of future accomplishment to care to rehearse the past. Yet it is no secret to those familiar with the inner history of that journal that the extraordinary circulation and influence attained by it during the decade preceding the Civil War was largely, if not mainly, due to the development of Mr. Dana's aptitude for his vocation. So far as the "Tribune" became anything outside of a political newspaper—and it did, in fact, become something far more comprehensive, elevated and powerful than the mere advocate of political opinions—it was he, rather than Horace Greeley, who created it. The latter, indeed, was primarily, and would have been, if left to himself, exclusively, a writer of political leading articles. It was not Greeley, but his many-sided young coadjutor, who took

all learning for his province, and made the "Tribune" for a time a fountain of enlightenment and stimulation to the whole people of the North. There is also reason to believe that, even in politics, at more than one grave crisis, when Greeley's own faith faltered and his purpose swerved, he leaned for guidance and support on his more resolute co-worker. On the date of the passage of the Nebraska bill, for instance, Greeley almost despaired of the Republic, and it was Mr. Dana's hand that seized the "Tribune's" helm, and made it an irresistible promoter of the creation and the triumph of the Republican Party. Again, at the outbreak of the Rebellion, Greeley's heart sank, and his mind fluttered, and, refusing to heed the counsel of his undismayed associate, he caused the paper, which had made Lincoln's election possible, to become, in the eyes of the new President, an object of aversion and distrust.

There is no doubt that Mr. Dana's withdrawal from the "Tribune," which took place at this juncture, and his acceptance soon afterward of the office of Assistant Secretary of War, opened one of the most interesting chapters of his rich experience. The present biographer has well brought out how Dana, as the eye and right hand of Stanton at the front, watched and manipulated the mainsprings and driving-wheels of the stupendous machinery of war which had for its field a continent and for its aim the restoration of a dismembered empire. At the front, Dana was in a position to see victories in embryo and great commanders in the germ. His intuitive judgment of abilities and character, derived partly from nature, and partly from the practice of a profession which requires the power of instantaneous appraisement, he put at the service of his country on more than one unrecognized but critical occasion. Incompetence he punished with Roman ruthlessness; but many a gallant soldier he rescued from unmerited disgrace and showed him how he might pluck honor out of the jaws of disesteem. It is an indisputable fact, though he never asked nor received credit for it, that to Charles A. Dana more than to any other man was due the failure of the intrigue organized against Grant by McClernand during the siege of Vicksburg. Dana knew Grant and believed in him, and the Assistant Secretary's word had weight with Stanton. It is hard to recall another instance in modern history where the gift of judging men correctly has had more momentous con-

sequences. Of course, however, the range and value of Mr. Dana's work at the War Office are but faintly indicated by the effect of his divination of the skill and promise of commanders. Unnoticed but indispensable went on the ceaseless organization of fresh forces to fill the gaps created by battle and disease; the preparation and forwarding of arms, ammunition and supplies; in a word, the myriad labors which make up the secret process of forging the thunderbolts of war. In all these functions Mr. Dana played an unwearied and inestimable part.

IV.

We have noted above that, after Lee's surrender had made the War Department by comparison a sinecure, Mr. Dana accepted the invitation of the owners of the Chicago "Republican" to become its editor. That this journal failed was owing to causes entirely beyond his control. The occasion which was to tax his powers to the utmost came a little later. He had for the first time an opportunity of carrying out fully and permanently his ideas of a newspaper's possibilities and of newspaper rewards, when, at the end of the year 1867, he organized the company which bought "The Sun." Once free to embody his view of the aims and standards of journalistic work, Mr. Dana produced a newspaper which in this country had then no parallel in respect of keenness, comprehensiveness and trustworthiness of observation; breadth and accuracy of knowledge; luminous and fruitful scholarship; soundness of reasoning and matured good sense. He justified the title of his journal, for in it he offered a daily conspectus of all that meets the solar rays. For the first time it might be said of an American editor that, while graduating the space allotted to each subject by its relative importance, he did in very truth obey the dictum of Dr. Johnson, and survey mankind from China to Peru. His conception of news and editorial comment differed widely from that of preceding editors. He believed that, not only as regards local incidents and local politics, but as regards the personages, events, movements, discoveries and discussions of the world at large, a great newspaper ought to be, not only the abstract and brief chronicle, but, we may add, the expounder of the time. Besides discharging its former news-gathering function, he thought that a daily journal should supplant the lecturer, supplement the pulpit and absorb the old-

fashioned magazine and quarterly review. Here, again, Mr. Dana stood forth as the author of an innovation of incalculable value. He may be said to have invented the cheapest and most useful instrument of popular education that the world has known. What he once had made of the "Weekly Tribune" he incomparably expanded and improved upon in the Sunday "Sun."

In the case of a man who thought for himself and had the courage of his opinions, it was inevitable that the grounds of his conclusions should sometimes be misapprehended, and his motives misconceived. Among the conjunctures when he suffered temporarily from such misinterpretation may be mentioned those when he did not hesitate to condemn Grant's administration, and to denounce the attempt of ill-advised friends of that President to give him a third term; when he castigated Hayes as the beneficiary of the fraud perpetrated on the American people by the Electoral Commission; when he declined to support the candidacy of Cleveland against Blaine; and when he repudiated the nomination of Bryan and the Democratic endorsement of the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. On every one of these occasions he was accused by ill-informed onlookers of acting from personal predilection or antipathy. Those who stood nearest to him and could best judge, however, can testify that, in every one of the instances cited, the conduct of his paper was shaped, not by prejudices, but by convictions, which he deemed it a supreme public duty to enforce. If there ever was an unselfish, a high-minded and a conscientious editor, who strove early and late to play the part of a patriot, that man was the creator of "The Sun." Thus it came to pass that, in the eyes of those who truly knew him, it was a position of unique distinction which Charles A. Dana ultimately occupied at the head of a fraternity of toilers to whom he had given unprecedented dignity and a limitless horizon. Having exhibited impressive proof of what he could do as an editor, he was, above most of his contemporaries, the man who should have been selected by wise citizens to serve the State in a legislative or an executive capacity. He would have had nothing to gain, however, by exchanging for a seat in the Federal Senate, or in the White House, a desk which, for prestige and influence, might well have been likened to a throne.

One of Mr. Dana's special titles to the remembrance of his

fellow workers in the newspaper calling is the fact that, more than any other man alive on either side of the Atlantic, he raised their vocation to a level with the legal and medical professions as regards the scale of remuneration. He honored his fellow craftsmen of the pen, and he compelled the world to honor them. Unforgotten, also, is his possession in a preeminent degree of the truly imperial faculty for choosing useful lieutenants. Almost he may be said to have founded a school of journalists. Certainly, he trained and left behind him a company of pupils and disciples, many of whose names are familiar, as, for example, those of Paul Dana, his son and successor in the editorship; William M. Laffan, the present owner of the paper; Edward P. Mitchell, long chief-of-staff and now the editor; Francis P. Church and Edward N. Kingsbury, the widely known editorial writers, and Chester A. Lord, for many years the managing editor. Two or three others still live to cherish and revere his memory. As, on the day of his funeral, those veterans beheld the body of their chief borne to its last resting-place, there may well have risen to their lips the Roman acclamation: Farewell, great Captain! Farewell, born Leader of Men! *Ave, Imperator, atque vale! Morituri te salutamus!*

MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

THE PROBLEM OF CHILD IDLENESS.

BY THOMAS SPEED MOSBY, PARDON ATTORNEY OF MISSOURI.

THE solution of the child-labor problem, which, in view of the unanimity of public opinion upon the subject, may be regarded as practically assured, leaves still looming ominously beyond it the portentous problem of child idleness. Statistical information with regard to child-labor is abundantly at hand, and we know exactly the number of children employed in the factories of every State, their hours and their wages. But as to the number of children reared in idleness, we have, unfortunately, no other or better guides than the records of the reformatories and penitentiaries afford us.

These records indicate that the age of greatest criminality is somewhere between the ages of twenty and twenty-five, and that from sixty to seventy per cent. of felons are entirely unskilled in any trade or profession. The United States Census of 1890 showed that, of 52,894 convicts, 31,426 were ignorant of any kind of trade. French statistics covering a period of over fifty years reveal the following number of indictments per 100,000 of each of the classes named: Agriculture, 8; liberal professions and proprietors, 9; factory laborers, 14; commerce, 18; domestic service, 29; without regular trade or occupation, 405.

In the reformatories, where the prisoner by reason of his youth has had less time in which to acquire a trade, the percentage of the unskilled is necessarily much greater than in the penitentiaries. The writer had occasion to discuss this subject with the superintendent of an institution of this kind, which has upon its records the names of 3,154 boys whom it has received during a period of several years. The ages of the boys, at the periods of reception and discharge, ranged between ten and twenty-one years, thus covering the entire period between childhood and manhood.

"How many of these boys had ever been apprenticed before reaching your institution?" the superintendent was asked.

"None," was the reply.

"How many had knowledge of a trade?"

To the last question the very prompt and positive answer was this:

"Absolutely none; if they had, they would never have come here."

In the reformatory to which reference is here made every boy is taught a trade, and it is very seldom that one of them is again heard of as a violator of the laws.

In the largest penitentiary in the United States, where more than two thousand convicts are constantly confined, about sixty-five per cent. are without knowledge of any occupation when received. In some penitentiaries, the percentage is even greater. In this prison the factory system prevails, all are taught some trade, and only about fourteen per cent. ever return to crime.

All investigations in this country show, beyond question, that the American criminal is not a product of the trades, of the workshop or the factory. Although no trade or profession is immune from crime, we here find it at the minimum. And this is true of both sexes. The feminine delinquents are not recruited from the ranks of the factory girls. As a rule, they are women who do not care for work.

"Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined." The child-idler is simply the adult-idler in the making. And, as Archbishop Tillotson quaintly said: "Idleness and luxury bring forth poverty and want; and this tempts men to injustice and that causeth enmity and animosity." The boy who is allowed to grow up unskilled in any occupation is the boy who is most likely to lapse into the state of mental, spiritual and physical stagnation which the author of the "Anatomy of Melancholy" has aptly characterized as "the nurse of naughtiness, the chief author of mischief, one of the seven deadly sins, the cushion upon which the devil chiefly reposes, and a great cause not only of melancholy, but of many other diseases"—and, he might well have said, of crime.

As has been shown, the age of greatest criminality follows immediately upon the age of legal maturity, and the class of greatest criminality is the non-working class. Bring a child to maturity without knowledge of useful work, and you place him in a class

which statistics show is the most likely to commit crime, and at the age when most crimes are committed—thus assuring a kind of double probability of moral delinquency and industrial failure. Contrast such a case with that of the boy who has learned to make an honest living. Whether he be shoe-cutter, machinist, electrician, brass-moulder or what not, in all human probability he will continue to ply his trade. He will feel some sense of responsibility to his work. His mind will be occupied by the duties of his calling, and he will pass by the idle and the dissipated at a time when, as experience has shown, the human mind is most susceptible to the influences that make for crime. Nor is this a mere supposition. It is a fact verified by the prison records.

If the habits formed in youth may be regarded as in any sense an index or forecast of the character of the adult, then, in the light of the criminal statistics, the problem of child idleness may justly lay claim to some measure of the dignity and importance so freely accorded to the much-mooted problem of child-labor; and before making it impossible for the youth to acquire practical (as well as theoretical) knowledge of gainful pursuits, we should reckon the latent dangers that lurk within the possibilities of a generation brought up without effective knowledge of useful work.

To be sure, it by no means follows that, in teaching the child to work, his powers should be taxed beyond their capacity. To do so is inhuman in the extreme. The labor of the child should not proceed beyond the limits of healthful exertion; and the primary consideration, at all times, should be an educational and not a financial one. He should by no means be taught that the only object of labor is to earn money; but he should be made to understand his obligation to serve, inasmuch as he is served; to give, as he receives; to bring to the world, as he takes from it—and he should be taught the means of performing that obligation. With such an education he will be both able and willing to fashion with hand or brain, and he will go forth to his duties, feeling, not that the world owes him a living, but that he owes to the world a life.

THOMAS SPEED MOSBY.

EPIC OF THE WEST'S EXPANSION.

BY CHARLES M. HARVEY.

LET us of these Oklahoma and Indian Territory admission days beware of laughing too loudly at Josiah Quincy's indignation in 1811, when somebody hinted to him the possibility that some time or another in the remote future there might be six States west of the Mississippi. Quincy was opposing Louisiana's admission because she was on the wrong side of that river. The proposition to admit Louisiana seemed to him to be monstrous. It was worse than monstrous; it was absurd. Congress had no authority, Quincy passionately declared, to throw the rights, the liberties and the property of the people of the United States "into hotch-pot with the wild men on the Missouri, or with the mixed, though more respectable, race of Anglo-Gallo-Americans who bask on the sands of the Mississippi."

We had fought eight years with the most powerful nation on the globe in order to establish our independence. Then we had set up an elaborate scheme of government to utilize the benefits we had gained. To dilute all these advantages by allowing a lot of semi-savage fur-traders, *voyageurs* and adventurers in the recently Franco-Spanish region west of the Mississippi to share in them involved an anticlimax which outraged Quincy's æsthetic sense even more than it assailed his ideas of political propriety.

But, as he viewed the situation, Quincy was right. His horizon, nailed down on the Alleghanies' crest, had a few loopholes in it through which he got stray glimpses of Ohio, Tennessee and Kentucky, but nothing farther onward. Benjamin Goodhue, a somewhat earlier Massachusetts Federalist, opposed any elaborate expenditure of labor or money in laying out the projected seat

of government at Washington. The centre of population, which was east of Baltimore then, he argued, would be drawn farther east as settlements extended along the Atlantic. Washington, therefore, was too far west to be easy of access to the people. To the men of the Goodhue and Quincy period and temper, "Beyond the Mississippi" was as remote as "Beyond Thule" was to the contemporaries of Alexander of Macedon.

Wiser men, however, than Goodhue or Quincy also failed, and for excellent reasons, to foresee Oklahoma and Arizona as commonwealths which would share in the government of the country. In his first inaugural, Jefferson congratulated his fellow citizens on "possessing a chosen country with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation." The country which Jefferson spoke of in such expansive language extended only to the Mississippi's east bank and was cut off from access to the Gulf of Mexico by Spain's Florida, which not only comprised our present State of that name, but included a strip along the southerly ends of Alabama and Mississippi, and Louisiana's easterly projection. And many of Jefferson's contemporaries said that his notions of his country's future growth and progress were wildly fantastic in their optimism. In this case, at least, Jefferson steered clear of that reproach which Fox attributed to Burke of being "wise too soon."

No American of a century ago could have foreseen the erection of Oklahoma, Arizona and their partners of to-day into Statehood, for there was no real West at that time. The Trans-Mississippi region is the West of to-day and to-morrow. Yesterday's West, stretching from the Alleghanies to the big river, was the parent of that of to-day, but this West is as unlike its forerunner as a son contributing to and sharing in the world's added experiences and improvements is apt to be unlike his father.

Nor did yesterday's West have a concrete existence when Jefferson went into office. It was in 1812 that the old West first revealed itself. The Federalists of that day called the second conflict with England "Mr. Madison's war." The country, however, knew it was Henry Clay's war. Clay, then Speaker of the House, coerced Madison into fighting England by making his renomination for President in 1812 contingent on his adoption of the war policy of the South and West.

Such social and political triumphs as the war contributed to

the country were won by the West. They were won by Harrison and his Ohioans and Kentuckians at the battle of the Thames, in Canada, where he defeated Proctor, the British commander, killed Tecumseh, the Shawnee, an immeasurably greater soldier than Proctor, and vanquished Tecumseh's red warriors, who were far more formidable fighters than any of Proctor's white troops. They were won by Jackson at New Orleans, where, with his Kentuckians, Tennesseeans and Lousianians, he overthrew Wellington's veterans at Chalmette. Those battles gave the United States nearly all the military glory which it gained in the land fighting of the war of 1812.

On the scale of that time, Jackson's inauguration in 1829 sent more people to Washington than went to see Roosevelt inducted into office in 1905, and the gathering was more miscellaneous. Said Justice Joseph Story: "All sorts of people were there, from the highest and most polished down to the most vulgar and gross in the nation. I never saw such a mixture. The reign of King Mob seemed triumphant." "It was the people's day," wrote Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith, a chronicler of the time, "the people's President, and the people would rule."

Jackson's election was the West's first distinctive political triumph. The conservative East derided him when it first heard of his Presidential aspirations. To New England the idea of Old Hickory occupying the chair of Washington and Monroe seemed as fantastic as was the barbarian Maximin's succession to Alexander Severus as Emperor of Rome. Even the founder of his party was startled at the thought of his advent as head of the government. "I feel much alarmed at the prospect of seeing General Jackson President," said Jefferson to Webster in 1824.

Could the East have foreseen that three decades later a succession of Western men, unbroken save by the cases of Cleveland and Roosevelt, were to head the Government for half a century, it would have regarded Jackson's apparition as still more of a portent of peril. But, in the light of what Jackson revealed himself to be as President, the West had a right to say of him, in the language of Kipling's potter:

> "If I have taken the common clay
> And wrought it cunningly,
> In the shape of a god that was digged a clod,
> The greater honor to me."

The West's advent as a ruling force in the country's politics had an even larger influence on the Government's structure and subsequent history than did Adams's appointment of John Marshall to be head of the Supreme Court. Destitute as it was of all caste and class distinctions, the West's example abolished the property qualification for the suffrage which prevailed in the East at the outset. It placed poor and rich on the same level at the ballot-box. Created as they were by Congress, the Western States were nationalist from the beginning.

Physical causes also coincided to make the date of Jackson's advent of vast consequence to the West and the country. In 1811 the "New Orleans," built at Pittsburg by Fulton, Livingston and Nicholas J. Roosevelt (granduncle of the President), went down the Ohio and Mississippi and introduced steam on Western waters. The "General Pike," the first steamboat seen north of the mouth of the Ohio, tied up at the levee in St. Louis in 1817. In 1819 the "Independence" and the "Western Engineer" entered the Missouri's lower stretches. The "Virginia" steamed up the Mississippi in 1823, through the country of the Sacs and Foxes and Winnebagoes, to Fort Snelling, several decades before Minnesota had a local habitation or a name. On the rivers of the nearer and older West, steamboats were beginning to swarm in the year of Jackson's first election. That year saw the laying of the corner-stone in the construction of the Baltimore and Ohio, the earliest of the country's great railways, and thus witnessed the creation of a force which was destined to swing the country's population and industrial centre and the centre of its political and social gravity into the Mississippi valley.

"Europe stretches to the Alleghanies," says Emerson, "America is beyond." America began to assert herself about the end of the nineteenth century's first quarter. Jackson's advent was marked by a din like that which greets a new nation or a new millennium. He shook up parties, blotted out old political lines, and threw all his enemies—Democrats, National Republicans, Nullifiers, Anti-Masons and nondescripts—into the coalition which, in 1834, adopted the name of "Whigs." Old Hickory filled the stage as completely in his day as Young Hickory does in 1907. He dwarfed Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Van Buren and the rest of the leaders of both parties to the level of supernumer-

aries and superfluities. Personal government this was. It had no room in it for straddlers or negationists. Men could be neutral under Van Buren, Buchanan or McKinley, but everybody had to be either for or against Jackson.

The West furnished the country with issues—the Oregon controversy with England, Texas annexation, the Mexican war, the acquisition of New Mexico and California by conquest and purchase, and the struggle between the North and South for the possession of Kansas—from the days of the West's earliest President onward till the advent of the long line of Western Executives, which stretches, save for the Cleveland interregnum, from Lincoln's time to the accession of Roosevelt.

It was related at the time that Jackson urged his friend Sam Houston and his fellow Americans of Texas, who were in rebellion against Mexico, to retreat to the Sabine, and to bait Santa Anna into following them on to United States territory. This would give Jackson an opportunity to make war on Mexico, to annex Texas, as Houston and his followers wanted, and to extend the country's boundaries to the Rio Grande. Many persons believed the story. The Texans finished the war themselves, and did it at San Jacinto instead of retreating to the Sabine, but the essential part of the programme was carried out, though several years after Jackson had stepped down from office.

From St. Louis as a base, and with Independence and Westport Landing on the Missouri as starting-points, went Becknell, the Chouteaus, Glenn, Fowler and the other traders who opened the Santa Fé trail over which marched Kearny, Doniphan, Price and the rest of the Americans who carried their banners into the heart of Mexico in 1846, and participated with Taylor, Scott and Fremont in the conquest of New Mexico and California. "To-morrow," said Philip St. George Cooke, one of the officers of Kearny's expedition, in his diary, "three hundred wilderness-worn dragoons . . . set forth to conquer . . . a Pacific empire; to take a leap in the dark of a thousand miles of wild plains and mountains, only known in vague reports. Our success—we never doubt it—shall give us for boundary that world line of a mighty ocean's coast, . . . and shall girdle the earth with civilization." The atmosphere palpitated with the spirit of adventure.

In his last message to Congress, in 1848, Polk exultantly called the roll of the accessions of territory—Texas, Oregon

(the present States of Oregon, Washington and Idaho, and parts of Montana and Wyoming), New Mexico (the present New Mexico, all of Arizona except the strip below the Gila River, the States of Nevada and Utah, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming) and California—which had been made during his Presidency, and he proudly pointed out that, "the Mississippi, so lately the frontier of our country, is now only its centre." It was manifest destiny marching on.

On the West's and the country's development all this had a decisive influence. The tract covered by these various acquisitions was larger in area than Jefferson's Louisiana purchase from France in 1803. It fills a bigger space on the map than does the territory which Washington and George Rogers Clark extorted from George III in the treaty of Paris of 1783. Politically, moreover, the acquisition counted for more than it did in superficial measurement. It met the demands of physical geography in giving us a scientific frontier on the Gulf of Mexico and on the Pacific, removed all possibility of the planting of a new Mexico or a new Canada in the path of the westward march of American empire, and prepared the way for the Alaskan, Porto-Rican, Hawaiian and Philippine annexations, and for the social conquests which America has been winning in recent years.

While this rounding out in 1845-48 of the territory of the United States to its logical proportions was going on, things were taking place in the Old World—Ireland's potato famine of 1846, which started the exodus to America that is under way to this day, and the abortive rebellions of 1848 in Prussia, Austria, Saxony, Baden, Hungary and other countries in Central Europe, which have sent millions of immigrants to us for the liberty that they could not get in their home land—which were destined to assist materially in building up this new empire in the West.

These events attracted the earnest attention of the United States, especially of the West, which was soon to be profoundly and advantageously affected by them, and mass-meetings expressing sympathy with the German and Hungarian patriots were held in Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago and other towns in their section. In 1849, in his first annual message, that robust old Western campaigner, Zachary Taylor, told Congress that he deemed it to be his duty "to stand prepared, upon the contingency of the establishment by her of a permanent government,

to be the first to welcome independent Hungary into the family of nations." No such favor for rebels against the authority of any great nation would be expressed by any President of the United States in our day.

Even before Polk's and Santa Anna's peacemakers at Guadalupe Hidalgo had, in the early weeks of 1848, fixed up the treaty which brought the war to an end and established our title to California and the rest of the territory won from Mexico, James W. Marshall made the gold discovery in the raceway of Sutter's mill, on the American fork of the Sacramento, which started an inrush from the four quarters of the globe that put California on the world's map. The American frontier had reached the Missouri by the opening of 1848. California's gold strikes, and the opening of Oregon to undisputed American settlement under the British treaty, swung the frontier as far westward in a single year as it had marched in the slow stages of the previous 240 years since Newport, Gosnold and Captain John Smith established at Jamestown the first permanent colony of English-speaking people ever planted in the New World.

With the West as a stage, events now came on with a rush. The South's desire to share in the new domain incited the repeal of the Missouri slavery prohibition compromise, which it accomplished in the Kansas-Nebraska Territorial organization bill that Douglas framed and Pierce signed in 1854. This started the struggle between North and South for the possession of Kansas, which convulsed the country.

"We cross the prairies as of old
The pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the free.
We go to rear a wall of men
On Freedom's southern line,
And plant beside the cotton-tree
The rugged Northern pine."

These lines from Whittier's "Lays of the Emigrants," sung by the first colony of Free State men as they were leaving Boston for Kansas in July, 1854, showed the spirit of the settlers who were to fight the North's and liberty's battles on the Western plains. The Kansas contest killed the Whig party, and created the Republican party on the basic issue of preserving the Territories for freedom. The divergence between the Northern and the Southern elements of the Democracy in the later stages, 1858,

of the Kansas struggle split that party in the middle in the Charleston Convention of 1860, elected Lincoln, and this precipitated secession and civil war, out of which came emancipation, the negro issue, which is before the country still, and the new and more perfect Union of to-day.

Incidentally—and likewise coincidentally with some of the great events here enumerated—the Republican party passed a Free Homes law, signed by Lincoln in 1862, which attracted immigrants from all over the world, as it was intended to do, and added millions to the trans-Mississippi region's population. This and the war rendered necessary the trans-continental railroads, the first of which, begun in 1864, was finished in 1869, and four have been built since. To supply new lands when the fertile acres under Lincoln's law are exhausted, President Roosevelt induced Congress to pass the national irrigation act, applying wholly to the country west of the big river, to which he placed his signature in 1902.

As a resultant of the operation of all these forces there has been a population movement westward of epic largeness. The centre of the country's population, which was near Clarksburg, West Virginia, in 1840, just before the Texas, Oregon and California annexations, swung 55 miles westward by 1850; the California gold-diggings and the Oregon colonization sent in 88 miles farther between 1850 and 1860; the Free Homes law, the diffusion of railways through the West and the building of the transcontinental lines have kept the centre moving westward, its location in 1900 being near Columbus, in western Indiana.

From the Declaration of Independence till now, 25,500,000 immigrants have come to the United States, most of whom have settled in the West. All except 5,000,000 of these have come since Lincoln signed the Homestead Act. These, with the immigrants from the Eastern States, have written the West's prairies, deserts and mountains all over with human history. In the number of persons involved, and the number of miles traversed, this has been immeasurably the largest movement of people in any equal length of time in the annals of the globe. We are too near to it in time and distance to be able to throw it into the proper perspective, and to gauge its dimensions and significance. To describe its majesty and dramatic sweep would require a Gibbon or a Mommsen. In numerical proportion it

is a far greater population movement than that invasion of the Roman Empire by the Germanic tribes in the fifth century which altered the current of the world's history.

For Americans the compass pointed in only one direction—westward, always westward. Just before the annexation of Texas, Oregon and California, the West, to the popular fancy, had almost as many mysteries as peopled Central Africa in the days of Herodotus. Its old maps, with the Great American Desert flung across them from Missouri's and Iowa's westerly border to the Sierra Nevada and Cascade mountains, were about as vague as ancient Greece's maps with their margins of dragons and griffins.

As a political force, the Trans-Mississippi region had its beginning less than two-thirds of a century ago. Just previous to the accession of Texas, there were only three States—Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri—west of the big river. With the admission of Oklahoma the number is twenty-one (to be increased to twenty-three eventually by the entrance of Arizona and New Mexico), as compared with twenty-six east of that stream. Moreover, Texas is allowed, under the admission act, to divide herself into four other States, if she wishes to do so. Probably she will never act upon the privilege. It is possible, however, in the concentration of population which the future may bring, that some of the other big Trans-Mississippi States may divide themselves, as Massachusetts long ago let Maine shift for herself, and as Congress cut Dakota Territory in two just before admitting both sections to Statehood. Out of Alaska's 600,000 square miles of territory, half the dimensions of the country east of the Mississippi, there may be four or five States carved in the coming time.

Of the contiguous part of the United States, sixty per cent. of the area is west of the river, and only twenty-eight per cent. of the population. The country's geographical centre, leaving out Alaska and our island possessions, is in Smith County in Northern Kansas. When Roosevelt's irrigation act abolishes the arid spaces, and the vast expanses of that locality fill up, the population proportion is likely to increase to 40 or 50 per cent. of the country's total. It may go beyond 50 per cent. when our trade with Asia's 800,000,000 people, half those of the entire globe, is developed, and when Seward's dream of half a century ago is realized of the Pacific as a highway of commerce thronged as much as the Atlantic.

That locality has the largest of all the States in area, which is one day to become the largest also in population. In population, it has the fifth and sixth States (Texas and Missouri), the fourth city (St. Louis), and the third largest export port (Galveston), which is soon likely to pass New Orleans and to stand next to New York. It already has 46 per cent. of the country's railway mileage of main track, 40 per cent. of the country's farms, 55 per cent. of its acres of improved land; it produces 20 per cent. of the country's manufactures, 16 per cent. of its coal, 99 per cent. of its gold and silver, and furnishes 60 per cent. of the country's aggregate exports. The centres of the country's production of wheat and oats are west of the Mississippi, the centre of the petroleum production has just jumped across that stream, and that of cotton production, now on the east bank, is likely to make the leap by 1910.

"West of the Rocky Mountains will be the big end of the United States within the lifetime of millions now with us," says James J. Hill, President of the Great Northern Railway. That prophecy looks forward to the time when Hill's own and his rivals' steamship lines of to-day on the Pacific will be as far surpassed in number, dimensions and speed as the Atlantic's crude Cunarders of 1840 are by the fleets of ocean greyhounds of 1907. Southwest and Northwest—localities in which until a few decades ago there "weren't no ten commandments," are filling up with settlers at a rate unknown in the past.

> "O you youths, Western youths,
> So impatient, full of action, full of manly pride and friendship,
> Plain I see you, Western youths, see you tramping with the foremost,
> Pioneers, O pioneers."

But the poet's words, applicable to the conditions of colonization days east of the big river, need revision to make them fit the present situation. The Trans-Mississippi's "pioneers" of 1907 are not "tramping" in or riding in prairie-schooners. Many of them are coming in palace-cars. The 33,000 rural postmen, traversing the 700,000 miles of delivery routes, most of them west of the river, carry newspapers and letters to the farmers' gates before the ink is fairly dry on them. The trolley-lines, the rural automobile routes, the rural circulating libraries and the long-distance telephones keep the pioneer of 1907 in close touch with the entire globe.

Irving points out that in many respects the plainsman astride of a horse must be a superior person to the man who treads laboriously through the forest, or who crouches in a canoe, as did the frontiersmen east of the river. This pre-eminence of locality sticks. To-day's West has larger horizons than yesterday's, offers greater opportunities, engages in more audacious enterprises, and has a more exuberant optimism. Its typical sons have much of the *insouciance* of Mark Twain's Nicodemus Dodge, printer.

That section blazes new paths in achievement. Beginning with Wyoming in 1869, that community, with Colorado, Idaho and Utah, have abolished all distinctions between women and men at the ballot-box in elections up to and including those for President. In the new State composed of Oklahoma and Indian Territory are 90,000 Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks and Seminoles, who dissolved, on March 4, 1906, the tribal organizations which have lasted since many centuries before Columbus, have diffused themselves in the mass of the country's citizenship, and will take their chances with the whites from this time onward in making and observing the country's laws.

The Mississippi's sunset side has had several Presidents of the Senate—Atchison of Missouri, Ingalls of Kansas and Manderson of Nebraska; one Speaker of the House—Henderson of Iowa; and more Cabinet officers than can easily be counted. It has had one Presidential candidate of a great party—Bryan of Nebraska—and his first canvass was the most exciting since Lincoln's election in 1860.

Here are a few of the West's distinctive contributions to the building of the United States:

It abolished the property qualification for the suffrage;

It levelled all divergencies between the sexes in the higher education;

In four of the Rocky Mountain States it made women and men equal at the polls;

Beginning with the Indian Territory in 1907, it has put the ballot in the red man's hand;

It made the Democratic party democratic;

It created the Republican party which has run the government for nearly half a century, except for two short interruptions, and gave the country Lincoln, Grant, the Shermans and many other of the great characters of the age;

In 1861-65 it killed State sovereignty, established nationalism, abolished slavery, and fashioned a "more perfect Union" than the fathers of the nation had devised;

By shutting out Spain, France, England and the rest of the world from the path of our advance sunsetward, it made America American.

If, as Petrarch says, "History is poetry freed from the incumbrance of verse," then the soul of the West must have been soaring and singing from the beginning. The region which sent Lewis and Clark through darkest America from the mouth of the Missouri to the mouth of the Columbia; which started Moses Austin from St. Louis to get from Ferdinand VII of Spain permission to colonize Texas; which produced Becknell and the rest of the Santa Fé overland traders, who were to Americanize much of New Mexico and some of old Mexico long before Zachary Taylor's guns resounded along the Rio Grande; which saw John Colter discover the marvels of the Yellowstone (and get laughed at when he told about them in St. Louis afterward); which was with Marcus Whitman and his fellow colonists moving through South Pass on their way to win Oregon for the United States; which rode with Kearny and Doniphan through Mexico to the Gulf and the Pacific; which stood with Fremont when he raised his flag of the star and the bear at Sonoma, at the beginning of the revolt, which placed California under the Stars and Stripes; which was present at the meeting of the rails of Oakes Ames' and Huntington's transcontinental lines at Promontory Point, in Utah; and which looked on remotely and impotently while Sitting Bull and Rain in the Face annihilated Custer and his army in the "Year of a Hundred Years"—has had poetry, melodrama and tragedy studded through its entire annals.

But have we at last reached the end of the romance of the West, of its grand passions? Hardly. Yesterday Josiah Quincy's "wild men on the Missouri" held an exposition to which all the world was bidden, and to which all the world came. Tomorrow, beginning with the Indian Territory and Oklahoma, the emancipated race of Geronimo, Crazy Snake and Red Cloud, reversing the defeats of King Philip, Pontiac and Tecumseh, will be sitting in the legislative halls at Washington helping to make laws for the continent which once they owned.

CHARLES M. HARVEY.

THE NEW CITIZENSHIP LAW.

BY GAILLARD HUNT, CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF CITIZENSHIP, DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

WHEN a future historian shall write an account of the achievements of this the most remarkable administration of our government since the Civil War, he will give prominent place to the naturalization law of a year ago and the citizenship law which was approved last March and is now becoming effective, for these two measures are the culmination of a hundred years of effort for reform and affect the very foundation of our political structure.

The first naturalization law, passed in 1789, was a failure in preventing frauds upon our citizenship which had sprung up even before the Constitution was adopted, and the numerous laws afterwards passed were all mere palliatives which never gave relief, because they did not reach the true cause of the evil, which was the lack of control by the national government over a national subject. In consequence, the frauds went on increasing until they had spread over the entire country, and in certain localities had become so extensive that they excited the gravest alarm on the part of thinking men. If our citizenship was to be trafficked in with impunity by corrupt courts and foreigners, it would only be a question of time when the whole electorate would be hopelessly debased. The new naturalization law has interfered not at all with the convenience of naturalization for honest men, but has established such an effective system of national supervision of naturalizing courts that extensive fraudulent naturalizations are no longer possible. By forbidding any naturalizations within three months before a Federal election, it has put a stop to naturalizations for political purposes; by requiring reports of pending naturalizations and returns of

naturalizations conferred to be made to a central bureau in Washington, it has introduced uniformity of practice among the many courts which were before administering the law in innumerably variant ways; it has rendered collusion between courts and naturalization lawyers impossible, by requiring that the Government at Washington shall be informed of every application for naturalization at least three months before the application is heard.

Along with the insistence upon reform in our naturalization laws has always gone an earnest request for a law to define American citizenship, to do away with the uncertainties and obscurities which have surrounded it and to declare how it may be lost. Both the naturalization law and the citizenship law resulted from a notable cooperation between the Executive and Congress; both pased Congress with hardly any debate in the House and none in the Senate, and both had little opposition in the Lower House and none in the Upper. Because of the lack of opposition they did not attract the attention which their importance deserved; and, as comparatively few people realized their full portent, such discontent as they have occasioned has come too late. That there is discontent goes without saying. So far as the naturalization law is concerned, the objections to it comes chiefly from petty courts throughout the country which are now not permitted to naturalize, and which formerly derived part of their prestige and their fees from naturalization business. Dissatisfaction with the new citizenship law flows from those people who have been living abroad in fancied security of their American citizenship, and who now find themselves obliged to take positive steps to preserve a status which they have heretofore supposed attached to them indefinitely, without the performance of any obligations on their part. Both of these laws originated in the House of Representatives, but each resulted from a report made by executive officers, and the Senate can claim little agency in them. The citizenship law was based upon a report made to Secretary Root by a board of officers of his Department, the members being James Brown Scott, the Solicitor for the Department of State, David Jayne Hill, our Minister at The Hague, and the writer of this article, with Samuel B. Crandall, Ph.D., of the Department as Secretary. The original desire of the Executive had been to have an examination into the question made by a larger body composed of

jurists and publicists not in the public service, and Secretaries Hay and Root both asked Congress to create such a commission; but the House Committee on Foreign Affairs reported against the project, and suggested that the Secretary of State appoint a board of officers of his own Department to make the report. Secretary Root then named the board which met last summer and presented a report and recommendations which he forwarded to Congress with a strong endorsement. From this report sprang a bill, introduced in the House by the Hon. James Breck Perkins of New York, which became a law on March 2nd.

The law does not change or even modify the American doctrine of citizenship. That was already settled by the Constitution and the decisions of the Supreme Court. Anybody born in the United States, no matter what his race, unless he is an Indian living with a tribe, or however ineligible to our citizenship he may be for any other reason, is a citizen of the United States. His foreign mother may have been merely passing through the United States, and he may have been sent beyond our borders a moment after he was born; he may never have seen the United States except with a baby's eyes; all these things are of no consequence. Birth, mere birth, accidental or not, in the United States gives citizenship of the United States. It attaches to the child no matter what his parents may do, until he reaches manhood, when he may choose another nationality. Probably the world will never agree whether the doctrine of citizenship by birth or of citizenship by descent is the more reasonable. We inherited the former with the English common law, and this country and England are its two most important supporters.

Broadly speaking, an individual becomes a citizen of the United States by birth or naturalization, and these facts have been well settled; but how does he lose American citizenship? This was the question to which the citizenship board chiefly addressed itself, and which Congress settled a few months ago by declaring that an American shall be held to have expatriated himself when he becomes naturalized as a citizen of another country, or when he takes an oath of allegiance to another state, or when he lives permanently outside of the United States without intent to return; and, whereas our doctrine of citizenship comes from feudalism and the common law, our rule of expatriation comes from the Roman law and the *code Napoléon*. The rule is simple enough,

and no American has a right to complain if, by violating it, he finds he has by his own act lost his American nationality; nor will any complaint be heard from those who lose our citizenship as a consequence of deliberately acquiring another; but protests long and loud will surely come from those who find themselves cut off from the protection of this government because of their prolonged residence in foreign lands. The naturalization law had already endeavored to reach them. It was directed chiefly to the point of preventing frauds upon our citizenship in this country; but, while the bill was under discussion in the House, Mr. Crumpacker of Indiana carried an amendment which was designed to reach a class of fraudulent citizens who had thus far supposed themselves immune from punishment, and who enjoy the protection of the United States while they live permanently under some other government.

That the naturalization laws of the United States have always offered an easy avenue of approach to citizenship, and that the way was carelessly guarded, are facts which have been well known in other countries; and the consequence has been that many foreigners have come here with the express purpose of securing naturalization and going away immediately afterwards. We make few demands upon our citizens while they are at home and none when they are abroad, and we are zealous in protecting them from the demands of foreign governments. The inevitable consequence has been that we have had a constantly increasing number of so-called American citizens living abroad—men who have lived in the United States for only five years and in many cases have fraudulently secured naturalization papers after less than five years of residence; who never were really domiciled here; who never have performed any of the duties of American citizenship and who never intended to do so; who play no part in the development of the United States and are merely a burden to its government. They hold in their hands certificates which proclaim them to be American citizens; they are often loud in their assertions of loyalty to the United States; they claim rights, but perform no corresponding duties. In a notable report on naturalization, made to Congress in 1905 by Secretary Hay, he showed that sixteen per cent. of the naturalized citizens who applied to him for passports had been naturalized within six months of the date of their applications—had been naturalized,

in fact, after they had determined to go abroad and in order that they might go under American protection—and that passports were often applied for on the same day on which the naturalizations were secured. When it is remembered that many travellers go abroad without securing passports and depend upon their certificates of naturalization as sufficient proof of their citizenship, it becomes plain that the number of people who have lived in the United States as aliens and have gone abroad as citizens is considerable. Until the new naturalization law went into effect, it was not actually against the letter of the law for a man to commit this fraud; for, when he applied for citizenship, he was required merely to show that he had resided in the United States for five years, and no inquiry was made concerning his future intentions. The new naturalization law requires that he must not only be resident in the United States, but that he must entertain in good faith an intention of continuing to reside here, and that this fact shall appear on his naturalization certificate. Mr. Crumpacker's amendment logically pursued this requirement by providing that, if any one who was naturalized should go abroad and establish a permanent residence within five years after his naturalization he should be presumed, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, to have acquired his naturalization in bad faith, and by proper proceedings in court it should be set aside. The new citizenship law goes a step further by providing that any naturalized American citizen who goes abroad at any time to reside permanently shall be held to have expatriated himself, and that the permanence of the residence shall be presumed after he has resided for two years in the country of which he was previously a citizen, or for five years in some other foreign country; but the presumption may be overcome by proof that the residence is only temporary and that an intent to return exists. This part of the law only applies to naturalized citizens, and it is in fact the only place in the new law in which any discrimination is made between them and native citizens. The discrimination is only fair, however, for one who has already changed his nationality is more apt to change it again than one who has never changed it at all, and some action to protect us from imposition on the part of naturalized citizens who leave the United States had become necessary. One thing which has made it more necessary than it has ever

been before is the great tide of emigration which is setting towards our shores. Thousands upon thousands of the aliens who are coming in will become naturalized as American citizens; some of them will go back when they have made a competency; others will go back because they have not made a competency; a turn from industrial prosperity to industrial depression in the country will cause many to take ship for home or for foreign lands where the chances of bread-winning may appear to be more favorable than they are here. An intolerable condition of affairs would eventually come about if these men should be free to claim American citizenship as long as they chose to do so, and the only way to avoid this is to require some affirmative action on their part as the price of their continuing to be considered Americans.

I have said that the expatriation law is the culmination of many years of effort to secure reform in our citizenship; but it is more than that. It has settled a question which vexed the minds of our statesmen from the time of the foundation of the republic, and, historically considered, it is a stone to mark the progress of liberal ideas. The Declaration of Independence enumerated among the grievances of the Colonies against George III that he had interfered with the naturalization of aliens, and before the Constitution was adopted all the States conferred naturalization. The Constitution provided, as a matter of course, for a Federal rule of naturalization, and the right to make Americans out of aliens was regarded as a cardinal principle of American policy. It was insisted, too, from the beginning of the Government that one thus received into our fold ceased to be an alien, and, except in the matter of the holding of a few offices, enjoyed the same rights as a native American, having by his naturalization experienced a new political birth. This was American law, but there was at the same time the heritage which had come to us of the English common law and its rule that a man who was once an Englishman could never by any means be anything else, and we tacitly accepted this doctrine also. The illogical position was thus presented of a country with liberal laws by which a foreigner could become its citizen, and no laws at all by which its citizen could become a foreigner. In the absence of statute, the courts naturally fell back on the common law, and generally ruled that there was no way by which an American could divest himself of his citizenship. The political

branch of the Government, less trammelled by precedent, declared that, if expatriation was a right of a foreigner, it was a right of an American; and while Secretaries of State were refusing to give a man protection while he was abroad, on the ground that he had expatriated himself, the courts were declaring that he was still an American so far as his rights at home were concerned.

This anomalous condition prevailed until certain events occurred which concentrated public attention upon it and forced it to an issue. Shortly after the Civil War, when the feeling of strong nationality was at its height, a number of Americans born in Ireland returning to that country were arrested charged with political offences, and at the same time there were a number of arrests in Germany of former Germans on the ground that they had not performed their military duty, and in both countries the validity of the naturalization of the arrested men was denied. As they had many friends in the United States, and as many thousands of our citizens were of Irish and German nativity, public opinion became aroused, one State legislature after another proclaimed the right of expatriation and petitions for action poured in upon Congress. It is a common statement that the law of 1868 was passed in fear of German and Irish voters in the United States, who were so numerous in the North and West that no man could long enjoy public life if they marked him for destruction; but this is a short-sighted view of a movement which was only accelerated by circumstances, being, in fact, the natural and inevitable result of the American policy of naturalization. If foreigners were to be admitted to every right of citizenship in the United States, then they ought to be recognized as American citizens in other countries, even in the country of their nativity. Naturalization was a barren privilege if it did not carry with it the right to this Government's protection everywhere in the world. The act of 1868 was introduced by the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives through General N. P. Banks of Massachusetts, the chairman, with a notable report which was an able defence of the right of expatriation. The bill was debated extensively in both House and Senate by the leading statesmen of the day, and its principle was accepted by all. The debate turned almost entirely, however, upon the right of a foreigner to become a citizen of

the United States and to be recognized as such by foreign governments, and an effort made to introduce a concomitant measure declaring how an American might accomplish expatriation failed to arouse interest, because no actual cases demanded attention. The consequence was that the bill as passed entirely ignored this side of the question. It proclaimed expatriation to be an inherent right of all men, that any opinion of a judicial or executive officer of the United States to the contrary was opposed to American policy, that any claim of a foreign government to the allegiance of one of its former citizens who had become naturalized as an American citizen was without justification, and that naturalized citizens who went abroad were entitled to the same protection of persons and property from this Government as native citizens; but it went no further. Nevertheless, this law has always been construed as meaning that an American has the right of expatriation as well as a foreigner, and the conflict of opinion on the subject was put to sleep; but it left the question of what should be held to constitute expatriation where it was before. Our population consists of citizens, naturalized or native, and foreigners, and a man of foreign birth is a foreigner until he is naturalized. Was it not, therefore, logical to say that an American could not become a foreigner until he should obtain foreign naturalization? If mere domicile in the United States did not confer American citizenship, should mere domicile in a foreign country take it away? This was the great question which the legislation of 1868 left no nearer settlement than it had been in 1795, when the Supreme Court said, through Judge Paterson: "A statute of the United States relative to expatriation is much wanted. . . . Besides, ascertaining by positive law the manner in which expatriation may be effected would obviate doubts, render the subject notorious and easy of apprehension, and furnish the rule of civil conduct on a very interesting point." The question was finally settled by the new citizenship law after one hundred and nineteen years of waiting.

As I have said, our doctrine of citizenship is that a man belongs to the soil on which he is born; but, early in our history as a nation, we adopted a law contradictory to this and declared that a child born of American parents temporarily abroad was an American citizen. No explanation of the contradiction need be attempted and none can be successfully made; for, if the doc-

trine is completely right, the law is wrong. The law was, at first, applicable only to those already born abroad, and for some years the status of foreign-born American children was uncertain, until Horace Binney took up their cause, and with the aid of Daniel Webster in the Senate secured the legislation which now stands. Just in principle as this law is, it has given opportunity for a number of cases of flagrant imposition upon this Government and foreign governments. Children born abroad of American parents grow up in foreign lands, do not even learn our language, and are educated with a view to their remaining abroad all their lives; but they assert American nationality as soon as they reach the age when they become liable to perform military service to the government under which they are living. Their citizenship is of no benefit to us, but of great profit to them; and their claim to our protection often causes friction between this Government and that of the country in which they were born. The new citizenship law requires them, as the price of their protection as American citizens, to report to an American consul upon reaching the age of eighteen years and declare their intention of remaining American citizens and of residing in the United States, and upon reaching the age of twenty-one to take the oath of allegiance. One who wilfully neglects these requirements, or having fulfilled them nevertheless makes his permanent residence in foreign lands, forfeits the right to American protection.

Before closing this paper, it is proper to glance at the question of the status of married women under the new law. The position of spinsters need not concern us, for their citizenship is subject to the same rules as apply to men. They may be naturalized or they may expatriate themselves as men do; but, as soon as one of them marries, she becomes subject to special provisions of law. Our first naturalization laws said nothing about married women, and the courts generally held that, as naturalization was a personal privilege, a foreign woman did not acquire American citizenship by marrying an American, nor an American woman lose it by marrying a foreigner. The woman's position was thus more independent in the early days of the Republic than it became later, for in 1855 a law was passed which required that a foreign woman who married an American should be considered an American. The act was, however, silent on the subject of the status of an American woman who married a foreigner.

Some State laws declared she did not lose her American citizenship, court decisions were contradictory, and the Executive, following the rule that the husband and wife are one, the husband being that one, declined to claim her as an American in international intercourse. If her status was uncertain while she was married, it became even more so when she became a widow or secured a divorce. How was she to regain her citizenship which she had lost by her marriage? Although American-born, must she sue for naturalization like a foreign-born alien? Without any law to justify it, she was generally considered as regaining her American nationality by simply residing in the United States, but when she went abroad, and especially when she went to the country of which her husband had been a citizen, it was hard to say what she was or to make any certain claim to her allegiance. It is true that the determination of a woman's citizenship is not ordinarily as important a matter as it is in the case of a man; but when it is remembered that aliens are not permitted in many foreign countries and in several of the States of the Union to inherit or acquire real estate, it becomes apparent that the question of a woman's nationality is often of vital importance to her. The citizenship law has removed the citizenship of women from the realms of doubt by ordering that an American woman marrying a foreigner shall lose her American nationality as long as the marital relation lasts. When it terminates by the death of her husband or by their absolute divorce, she may revert to her American citizenship by residing in the United States, or, if she is abroad, by declaring her intention to reside in the United States before an American consul; but she may retain the nationality of her husband by making formal election of her desire to do so. On the other hand, a foreign woman who becomes an American citizen through her marriage shall, upon the termination of the marital relation, be presumed to have retained her husband's citizenship if she continues to reside in the United States, unless she formally declares her intention to return to the foreign allegiance which she had before her marriage.

Such, briefly put down, are the provisions of this notable law designed to carry out to the full the enlightened American doctrine of expatriation, and to elevate our citizenship by expelling from it those who obtained it for fraudulent reasons and who seek to put it to base purposes. GAILLARD HUNT.

MARK TWAIN.

BY WILLIAM LYON PHELPS, LAMPSON PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE AT YALE UNIVERSITY.

During the last twenty years, a profound change has taken place in the attitude of the reading public toward Mark Twain. I can remember very well when he was regarded merely as a humorist, and one opened his books with an anticipatory grin. Very few supposed that he belonged to literature; and a complete, uniform edition of his "Works" would perhaps have been received with something of the mockery that greeted Ben Jonson's folio in 1616. Professor Richardson's "American Literature," which is still a standard work, appeared originally in 1886. My copy, which bears the date 1892, contains only two references in the index to Mark Twain, while Mr. Cable, for example, receives ten; and the whole volume fills exactly 990 pages. Looking up one of the two references, we find the following opinion:

"But there is a class of writers, authors ranking below Irving or Lowell, and lacking the higher artistic or moral purpose of the greater humorists, who amuse a generation and then pass from sight. Every period demands a new manner of jest, after the current fashion. . . . The reigning favorites of the day are Frank R. Stockton, Joel Chandler Harris, the various newspaper jokers, and 'Mark Twain.' But the creators of 'Pomona' and 'Rudder Grange,' of 'Uncle Remus and his Folk-lore Stories,' and 'Innocents Abroad,' clever as they are, must make hay while the sun shines. Twenty years hence, unless they chance to enshrine their wit in some higher literary achievement, their unknown successors will be the privileged comedians of the republic. Humor alone never gives its masters a place in literature; it must co-exist with literary qualities, and must usually be joined with such pathos as one finds in Lamb, Hood, Irving or Holmes."

It is interesting to remember that before this pronouncement

was published, "Tom Sawyer" and "Huckleberry Finn" had been read by thousands. Professor Richardson continued: "Two or three divisions of American humor deserve somewhat more respectful treatment," and he proceeds to give a full page to Petroleum V. Nasby, another page to Artemus Ward and two and one-half pages to Josh Billings, while Mark Twain had received less than four lines. After stating that, in the case of authors like Mark Twain, "temporary amusement, not literary product, is the thing sought and given," Professor Richardson announces that the department of fiction will be considered later. In this "department," Mark Twain is not mentioned at all, although Julian Hawthorne receives over three pages!

I have quoted Professor Richardson at length, because he represents an attitude toward Mark Twain that was common all during the eighties. Another college professor, who is to-day one of the best living American critics, says, in his "Initial Studies in American Letters" (1895), "Though it would be ridiculous to maintain that either of these writers [Artemus Ward and Mark Twain] takes rank with Lowell and Holmes, . . . still it will not do to ignore them as mere buffoons, or even to predict that their humors will soon be forgotten." There is no allusion in his book to "Tom Sawyer" or "Huckleberry Finn," nor does the critic seem to regard their creator as in any sense a novelist. Still another writer, in a passing allusion to Mark Twain, says, "Only a very small portion of his writing has any place as literature."

Literary opinions change as time progresses; and no one could have observed the remarkable demonstration at the seventieth birthday of our great national humorist without feeling that most of his contemporaries regarded him, not as their peer, but as their Chief. Without wishing to make any invidious comparisons, I cannot refrain from commenting on the statement that it would be "ridiculous" to maintain that Mark Twain takes rank with Oliver Wendell Holmes. It is, of course, absolutely impossible to predict the future; the only real test of the value of a book is Time. Who now reads Cowley? Time has laughed at so many contemporary judgments that it would be foolhardy to make positive assertions about literary stock quotations one hundred years from now. Still, guesses are not prohibited; and I think it not unlikely that the name of Mark Twain will out-

last the name of Holmes. American Literature would surely be the poorer if the great Boston Brahmin had not enlivened it with his rich humor, his lambent wit and his sincere pathos; but the whole content of his work seems slighter than the big American prose epics of the man of our day.

Indeed, it seems to me that Mark Twain is our foremost living American writer. He has not the subtlety of Henry James or the wonderful charm of Mr. Howells; he could not have written "Daisy Miller," or "A Modern Instance," or "Indian Summer," or "The Kentons"—books of which every American should be proud, for they exhibit literary quality of an exceedingly high order. I have read these books over and over again, with constantly increasing profit and delight. I wish that Mr. Howells might live forever, and give to every generation the pure intellectual joy that he has given to ours. But the natural endowment of Mark Twain is still greater. Mr. Howells has made the most of himself; God has done it all for Mark Twain. If there be a living American writer touched with true genius, whose books glow with the divine fire, it is he. He has always been a conscientious artist; but no amount of industry could ever have produced a "Huckleberry Finn."

When I was a child at the West Middle Grammar School of Hartford, on one memorable April day, Mark Twain addressed the graduating-class. I was thirteen years old, but I have found it impossible to forget what he said. The subject of his "remarks" was Methuselah. He informed us that Methuselah lived to the ripe old age of nine hundred and sixty-nine. But he might as well have lived to be several thousand—nothing happened. The speaker told us that we should all live longer than Methuselah. Fifty years of Europe are better than a cycle of Cathay, and twenty years of modern American life are longer and richer in content than the old patriarch's thousand. Ours will be the true age in which to live, when more will happen in a day than in a year of the flat existence of our ancestors. I cannot remember his words; but what a fine thing it is to hear a speech, and carry away an idea!

I have since observed that this idea runs through much of his literary work. His philosophy of life underlies his broadest burlesque—for "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court" is simply an exposure of the "good old times." Mark Twain

believes in the Present, in human progress. Too often do we apprehend the Middle Ages through the glowing pages of Spenser and Walter Scott; we see only glittering processions of "ladies dead and lovely knights." Mark Twain shows us the wretched condition of the common people, their utter ignorance and degradation, the coarseness and immorality of technical chivalry, the cruel and unscrupulous ecclesiastical tyranny and the capricious insolence of the barons. One may regret that he has reversed the dynamics in so glorious a book as Malory's "Morte d'Arthur," but, through all the buffoonery and roaring mirth with which the knights in armor are buried, the artistic and moral purpose of the satirist is clear. If I understand him rightly, he would have us believe that *our* age, not theirs, is the "good time"; nay, ours is the age of magic and wonder. We need not regret in melancholy sentimentality and picturesqueness of bygone days, for we ourselves live, not in a material and commonplace generation, but in the very midst of miracles and romance. Merlin and the Fay Morgana would have given all their petty skill to have been able to use a telephone or a phonograph, or to see a moving picture. The sleeping princess and her castle were awakened by a kiss; but in the twentieth century a man in Washington touches a button, and hundreds of miles away tons of machinery begin to move, fountains begin to play and the air resounds with the whir of wheels. In comparison with to-day, the age of chivalry seems dull and poor. Even in chivalry itself our author is more knightly than Lancelot; for was there ever a more truly chivalrous performance than Mark Twain's essay on Harriet Shelley, or his literary monument to Joan of Arc? In these earnest pages, our national humorist appears as the true knight.

Mark Twain's humor is purely American. It is not the humor of Washington Irving, which resembles that of Addison and Thackeray; it is not delicate and indirect. It is genial, sometimes outrageous, mirth—laughter holding both his sides. I have found it difficult to read him in a library or on a street-car, for explosions of pent-up mirth or a distorted face are apt to attract unpleasant attention in such public places. Mark Twain's humor is boisterous, uproarious, colossal, overwhelming. As has often been remarked, the Americans are not naturally a gay people, like the French; nor are we light-hearted and careless, like the Irish and the Negro. At heart, we are intensely serious,

nervous, melancholy. For humor, therefore, we naturally turn to buffoonery and burlesque, as a reaction against the strain and tension of life. Our attitude is something like that of the lonely author of the "Anatomy of Melancholy," who used to lean over the parapet of Magdalen Bridge, and shake with mirth at the horrible jokes of the bargemen. We like Mark Twain's humor, not because we are frivolous, but because we are just the reverse. I have never known a frivolous person who really enjoyed or appreciated Mark Twain.

The essence of Mark Twain's humor is Incongruity. The jumping frog is named Daniel Webster; and, indeed, the intense gravity of a frog's face, with the droop at the corners of the mouth, might well be envied by many an American Senator. When the shotted frog vainly attempted to leave the earth, he shrugged his shoulders "like a Frenchman." Bilgewater and the Dolphin on the raft are grotesquely incongruous figures. The rescuing of Jim from his prison cell is full of the most incongruous ideas, his common-sense attitude toward the whole transaction contrasting strangely with that of the romantic Tom. Along with the constant incongruity goes the element of surprise —which Professor Beers has well pointed out. When one begins a sentence, in an apparently serious discussion, one never knows how it will end. In discussing the peace that accompanies religious faith, Mark Twain says that he has often been impressed with the calm confidence of a Christian with four aces. Exaggeration — deliberate, enormous hyperbole — is another feature. Rudyard Kipling, who has been profoundly influenced by Mark Twain, and has learned much from him, often employs the same device, as in "Brugglesmith." Irreverence is also a noteworthy quality. In his travel-books, we are given the attitude of the typical American Philistine toward the wonders and sacred relics of the Old World, the whole thing being a gigantic burlesque on the sentimental guide-books which were so much in vogue before the era of Baedeker. With so much continuous fun and mirth, satire and burlesque, it is no wonder that Mark Twain should not always be at his best. He is doubtless sometimes flat, sometimes coarse, as all humorists since Rabelais have been. The wonder is that his level has been so high. I remember, just before the appearance of "Following the Equator," I had been told that Mark Twain's inspiration was finally gone, and

that he could not be funny if he tried. To test this, I opened the new book, and this is what I found on the first page:

"We sailed for America, and there made certain preparations. This took but little time. Two members of my family elected to go with me. Also a carbuncle. The dictionary says a carbuncle is a kind of jewel. Humor is out of place in a dictionary."

Although Mark Twain has the great qualities of the true humorist—common sense, human sympathy and an accurate eye for proportion—he is much more than a humorist. His work shows very high literary quality, the quality that appears in first-rate novels. He has shown himself to be a genuine artist. He has done something which many popular novelists have signally failed to accomplish—he has created real characters. His two wonderful boys, Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn, are wonderful in quite different ways. The creator of Tom exhibited remarkable observation; the creator of Huck showed the divine touch of imagination. Tom is the American boy—he is "smart." In having his fence whitewashed, in controlling a pool of Sabbath-school tickets at the precise psychological moment, he displays abundant promise of future success in business. Huck, on the other hand, is the child of nature, harmless, sincere and crudely imaginative. His reasonings with Jim about nature and God belong to the same department of natural theology as that illustrated in Browning's "Caliban." The night on the raft with Jim, when these two creatures look aloft at the stars, and Jim reckons the moon laid them, is a case in point.

"We had the sky up there, all speckled with stars, and we used to lay on our backs and look up at them, and discuss about whether they was made or just happened. Jim he allowed they was made, but I allowed they happened; I judged it would have took too long to *make* so many. Jim said the moon could a *laid* them; well, that looked kind of reasonable, so I didn't say nothing against it, because I've seen a frog lay most as many, so of course it could be done. We used to watch the stars that fell, too, and see them streak down. Jim allowed they'd got spoiled and was hove out of the nest."

Again, Mark Twain has so much dramatic power that, were his literary career beginning instead of closing, he might write for us the great American play that we are still awaiting. The story of the feud between the Grangerfords and the Shepherdsons is thrillingly dramatic, and the tragic climax grips one by the

heart. The shooting of the drunken Boggs, the gathering of the mob and its control by one masterful personality, belong essentially to true drama, and are written with power and insight. The pathos of these scenes is never false, never mawkish or overdone; it is the pathos of life itself. Mark Twain's extraordinary skill in descriptive passages shows, not merely keen observation, but the instinct for the specific word—the one word that is always better than any of its synonyms, for it makes the picture real—it creates the illusion, which is the essence of all literary art. The storm, for example:

"It was my watch below till twelve, but I wouldn't a turned in anyway if I'd had a bed, because a body don't see such a storm as that every day in the week, not by a long sight. My souls, how the wind did scream along! And every second or two there'd come a glare that lit up the white-caps for a half a mile around, and you'd see the islands looking dusty through the rain, and the trees thrashing around in the wind; then comes a *h-wach!*—bum! bum! bumble-umble-um-bum-bum-bum-bum—and the thunder would go rumbling and grumbling away, and quit—and then *rip* comes another flash and another sockdolager. The waves 'most washed me off the raft sometimes, but I hadn't any clothes on, and didn't mind. We didn't have no trouble about snags; the lightning was glaring and flittering around so constant that we could see them plenty soon enough to throw her head this way or that and miss them."

"Tom Sawyer" and "Huckleberry Finn" are prose epics of American life. The former is one of those books—of which "The Pilgrim's Progress," "Gulliver's Travels" and "Robinson Crusoe" are supreme examples—that are read at different periods of one's life from very different points of view; so that it is not easy to say when one enjoys them the most—before one understands their real significance or after. Nearly all healthy boys enjoy reading "Tom Sawyer," because the intrinsic interest of the story is so great, and the various adventures of the hero are portrayed with such gusto. Yet it is impossible to outgrow the book. The eternal Boy is there, and one cannot appreciate the nature of boyhood properly until one has ceased to be a boy. The other masterpiece, "Huckleberry Finn," is really not a child's book at all. Children devour it, but they do not digest it. It is a permanent picture of a certain period of American history, and this picture is made complete, not so much by the striking portraits of individuals placed on the huge canvas, as by the

vital unity of the whole composition. If one wishes to know what life on the Mississippi really was, to know and understand the peculiar social conditions of that highly exciting time, one has merely to read through this powerful narrative, and a definite, coherent, vivid impression remains.

By those who have lived there, and whose minds are comparatively free from prejudice, Mark Twain's pictures of life in the South before the war are regarded as, on the whole, nearer the truth than those supplied by any other artist. One reason for this is the aim of the author; he was not trying to support or to defend any particular theory—no, his aim was purely and wholly artistic. In "Uncle Tom's Cabin," a book by no means devoid of literary art, the red-hot indignation of the author largely nullified her evident desire to tell the truth. If one succeeds in telling the truth about anything whatever, one must have something more than the *desire* to tell the truth; one must know how to do it. False impressions do not always, probably do not commonly, come from deliberate liars. Mrs. Stowe's astonishing work is not really the history of slavery; it is the history of abolition sentiment. On the other hand, writers so graceful, talented and clever as Mr. Page and Mr. Hopkinson Smith do not always give us pictures that correctly represent, except locally, the actual situation before the war; for these gentlemen seem to have "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in mind. Mark Twain gives us both points of view; he shows us the beautiful side of slavery—for it had a wonderfully beautiful, patriarchal side—and he also shows us the horror of it. The living dread of the negro that he would be sold down the river, has never been more vividly represented than when the poor woman in "Pudd'nhead Wilson" sees the water swirling against the snag, and realizes that she is bound the wrong way. That one scene makes an indelible impression on the reader's mind, and counteracts tons of polemics. The peculiar harmlessness of Jim is beautiful to contemplate. Although he and Huck really own the raft, and have taken all the risk, they obey implicitly the orders of the two tramps who call themselves Duke and King. Had that been a raft on the Connecticut River, and had Huck and Jim been Yankees, they would have said to the intruders, "Whose raft is this, anyway?"

Mark Twain may be trusted to tell the truth; for the eye of the born caricature artist always sees the salient point. Caricatures

often give us a better idea of their object than a photograph; for the things that are exaggerated, be it a large nose, or a long neck, are, after all, the things that differentiate this particular individual from the mass. Everybody remembers how Tweed was caught by one of Nast's cartoons.

Mark Twain is through and through American. If foreigners really wish to know the American spirit, let them read Mark Twain. He is far more American than their favorite specimen, Walt Whitman. The essentially American qualities of common sense, energy, enterprise, good humor and Philistinism fairly shriek from his pages. He reveals us in our limitations, in our lack of appreciation of certain beautiful things, fully as well as he pictures us in coarser but more triumphant aspects. It is, of course, preposterous to say that Americans are totally different from other humans; we have no monopoly of common sense and good humor, nor are we all hide-bound Philistines. But there is something pronounced in the American character, and the books of Mark Twain reveal it. He has also more than once been a valuable and efficient champion. Without being an offensive and blatant Jingo, I think he is well satisfied to be an American.

Mark Twain is our great Democrat. Democracy is his political, social and moral creed. His hatred of snobbery, affectation and assumed superiority is total. His democracy has no limits; it is bottomless and far-reaching. Nothing seems really sacred to him except the sacred right of every individual to do exactly as he pleases; which means, of course, that no one can interfere with another's right, for then democracy would be the privilege of a few, and would stultify itself. Not only does the spirit of democracy breathe out from all his greater books, but it is shown in specific instances, such as "Travelling with a Reformer"; and Mark Twain has more than once given testimony for his creed, without recourse to the pen.

At the head of all American novelists, living and dead, stands Nathaniel Hawthorne, unapproached, possibly unapproachable. His fine and subtle art is an altogether different thing from the art of our mighty, democratic, national humorist. But Literature is wonderfully diverse in its content; and the historian of American Letters, in the far future, will probably find it impossible to omit the name of Mark Twain, whose books have warmed human hearts all over the world.

WILLIAM LYON PHELPS.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY FREDERIC TABER COOPER, THOMAS WALSH AND CLAYTON HAMILTON.

"THE PRINCESS."*

MARGARET POTTER is one of those authors whom it seems worth while to discuss seriously, not so much on account of their achievement, as because of the potential force they have revealed that promises still greater things in the near future. The value of her productions up to the present day, inclusive of her latest volume, "The Princess," is to be determined only by boldly striking a balance between their many obvious merits and equally obvious faults. There is a spectacular quality about her style, an Oriental vividness of verbal coloring that draws attention like the flamboyant contrasts of an artistic poster. And when the reader's attention is once drawn and held, he finds that underneath the surface glow and glitter there is a drama in the course of enactment that is throbbing painfully with tense human passions,—a drama not merely original, but of purposed audacity. These, then, are Mrs. Potter's chief assets: a fertile invention and fearless handling of unique situations; a rush and sweep of word and phrase which seem often to symbolize the pent-up flood of emotions it interprets; and most important of all, because herein lies the chief hope for her future work, a very real and frank recognition of the basic, primordial human passions and weaknesses, an ability to make us conscious of the warring elements of flesh and spirit in every man and woman.

Having conceded these gifts, one must add the qualifying comment that Margaret Potter does not always make the best use of

* "The Princess." By Margaret Potter. New York: Harper & Brothers.

them. Instead of controlling her very uncommon power and fertility of language, she often gives it too free a rein. She has not yet learned the forcefulness of restraint and simplicity. Her flow of words seems always under a certain hydraulic pressure. In picturing life, she deliberately chooses exceptional types, those who live upon the heights, who occupy the seats of the mighty. She holds a mirror up to nature, but it often suits her purpose to select a mirror with a curved surface, which curiously magnifies and exalts certain characters, and changes the perspective and the focal point. She needs the accessories of royal robes, the pomp and splendor of the throne-room, the prerogatives of despotic power, to gain her best effects. She prefers to hold our interest by the force of contrast, rather than to make her appeal to the ultimate kinship of human hearts.

"The Princess," which furnishes the excuse and the justification of the present analysis, represents the highest achievement of its author yet given to the public. Announced as the second volume of a trilogy of Russian life, which began with "The Genius," it is easily a long step in advance of the earlier volume. The background of the story, not merely the nomenclature of streets and buildings, but the pervading sense of a social system and an ethical code differing essentially from our own, is drawn in with a sureness of touch that reveals not merely the patient hours of faithful study and careful documentation, but also that inborn gift of reconstruction, that instinct for visualizing distant lands or vanished epochs. And to understand how helpless mere knowledge may be, without that further gift, one need only recall those soulless productions of erudition, Becker's "Charicles" and "Gallus."

Of the plot of "The Princess," it does not seem necessary to speak here in detail. It is too big, too complex, too panoramic, to lend itself readily to a brief retelling. The action passes within the imperial circles of modern Russia; much of it, indeed, within the threshold of the imperial palace. The various members of the reigning house pass in and out of the story, each of them sketched in with bold confidence, and each impressing you, as you read, that they are real people, with real emotions and not at all the conventional lay figures of the usual historical novel. The central theme of "The Princess," as the foreword explicitly states, is the Loneliness of the Great, the price that royalty has to pay, in

standing aloof from the multitude and solving the riddle of creation alone and unaided. And the specific case which Margaret Potter has selected to illustrate her theme is the life of a certain Russian princess, who having, through long years of wedded misery, borne proudly and silently the degradation of a husband's cruelty and neglect and open infidelity, must begin over again the same silent struggle in the case of her son, whom she cannot with all her love keep from the vileness of the life his father led before him, nor from the wretchedness of a loveless marriage like her own. The book has in it a certain strain of mysticism, a strange visitation from time to time of a dead and gone musician, whom her readers will recall as having played the leading rôle in "The Genius." This reincarnate spirit, who comes again and again to the Princess in her hours of bitterest need, to warn her how she may avoid the doom hanging over those dear to her, may be taken seriously, or as a mere figment of her brain. But in either case, what the author wishes to drive home is the fact that, for those who endure the Loneliness of the Great, it is impossible, even though a warning may come to them from the dead, to break away from the trammels of custom, to be untrue to the prescribed code of their order.

There is one other thought which it seems worth while to express in connection with "The Princess," and that is in regard to what is conventionally regarded as a proper or improper subject for current fiction. As already intimated, the book handles with the greatest frankness the phases of life which are an inevitable consequence of the profligacy of the mighty. And there is no very good reason why it should not, so long as it treats life honestly and fearlessly. And yet, such are the conventions that regulate the propriety of the novels we read, that if Margaret Potter had chosen to lay her scene in New York and attribute to American men and women one tithe of the frailties that she assigns to titled Russians, the book would have called forth a vigorous protest. And this is a pity, because it simply compels a novelist like Mrs. Potter, who has something definite to say about the basic facts of life, to leave her own country and wander far afield for her stage-settings, which must always have in them something of the artificial, the exaggerated, the spectacular. Nevertheless, Margaret Potter is one of the younger novelists to-day who display a healthy and vigorous talent, and one who is eminently worth watching.

She seems just now to be at the parting of the ways. She belongs to the school of romantic fiction, and at present stands somewhere, let us say, between the talent of a George Sand and the sensationalism of a Ouida. The next year or two ought to show definitely in which of the directions she will ultimately turn her path.

FREDERIC TABER COOPER.

WRIGHT'S "LIFE OF WALTER PATER."*

THERE can be no gainsaying Walter Pater's preeminent interest to the student of literature, and so far as his personal history bears upon the processes of his thought and expression, investigations such as those pursued by Mr. Thomas Wright in his recent "Life of Walter Pater" have a distinct value. Nevertheless there is much that seems unnecessary and diffuse in these volumes: the biographer places too great a reliance upon the cumulative effect of unimportant conversations and recollections, and his anxiety to see Pater through the eyes of certain of his early friends promotes a sense of uneasiness in the reader lest there should be another side to many of these stories.

Mr. Wright purports to show us the real Pater—an unprepossessing boy whose retired disposition could be partly accounted for by his descent from a long line of Roman Catholics of Dutch origin who lived secluded from their neighbors in Buckinghamshire. He grew up amid a refined parsimony which showed itself in his later character in an abiding respect for the advantages of birth and prosperity. From the beginning we find him "playing at priest": a visionary boy full of the "lust of the eye" for all things beautiful, an exceeding horror of suffering, and an affection for cats.

At the King's School, Canterbury, he shows himself to be "essentially a monk—sometimes an ascetic and painfully devout monk, sometimes a mocking, sceptical monk." Mr. Benson has declared that Pater was popular among his schoolmates: his new biographer finds that they considered him a hopeless milksop, while he regarded them as barbarians. Snowballing, it seems, filled him with terror: he did not care for blackened eyes, nor for the pet snakes of his associates.

At Oxford, where he had won an exhibition, a marked revulsion

* "The Life of Walter Pater," by Thomas Wright. Two volumes. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

of his religious feeling seems to have set in. He is no longer "the saintly boy" of Canterbury: Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Plato, Schelling and Hegel take the place of Stanley, Kingsley and Maurice. He spends vacations at Heidelberg: takes tea and is "tead with" assiduously: indulges in "Mephistophelian sneers" at trammelling creeds, quotes Voltaire and only relinquishes his intention of taking Anglican Orders when rebuffed by the Bishop of London at the instance of some of his own friends.

A classical fellowship at Brasenose College, Oxford, allowed him for the first time in his life to feel some security as to his finances; and at the thwarting of his purpose of taking orders, he turned with ardor to the philosophic and literary studies of the Renaissance. It was his period of emancipation: "Laughter gave him a saturnine, Mephistophelian look. Report said that he had sat to Solomon the painter for the portrait of Judas Iscariot."

In spite of his weakness in Greek and Latin, a weakness that could not be hidden even from his own pupils, Pater might entertain some expectations of advancement in the University. His relations with the students seem to have been amicable enough, for while he took little part in social affairs, he could look kindly on the undergraduates' horse-play. "They are like playful young tigers that have been fed," was one of his remembered phrases. On another occasion the recommendation of some reforms drew from him the protest: "I do not know what your object is. At present the undergraduate is a child of nature; he grows up like a wild rose in a country lane: you want to turn him into a turnip, rob him of all grace and plant him out in rows."

A second hitch in the programme of Pater's life was his difficulty with Jowett, the regius professor of Greek. It was a turning-point in his career. Up to this time Pater's teaching by word of mouth and pen could be summed up in the words, "Imitate the men of the Renaissance and enjoy yourself"—a doctrine which, added to his personal attitude and the extravagances of some of his so-called disciples, roused the opposition of Jowett to Pater's efforts to obtain the Proctorship, with its three hundred pounds a year. Mr. Benson has given a version of this affair to which Mr. Wright takes decided exception. He denies that Jowett had "wrongly identified Pater with the advanced æsthetic school and credited him with the views expressed by Mr. Rose, a character in Mr. Mallock's satiric

study of the day, "The New Republic." Mr. Wright contends that the trouble with Jowett occurred in 1874, before the æsthetic movement took shape at Oxford: while "The New Republic" did not appear until 1877.

For whatever cause, the loss of the Proctorship marked the advent of a new thought in Pater's writings,—the old Spartan and monastic doctrine of self-restraint and discipline, "the charm of *ascesis,* of the austere and serious girding of the loins in youth,"—the philosophy of his "Marius the Epicurean," of "Plato and Platonism," and "The Marbles of Ægina." Not that any outward change came over Pater's personal habits; indeed, many of these chapters on discipline were prepared "by a man in fairly good health who mortified himself by lying in bed half the day—who indeed actually wrote some of them between the sheets at near upon noon."

Mr. Wright furthermore has been greatly exercised at Mr. Benson's rather curious omission of any reference to St. Austin's Priory in Walworth, where a very ornate ritual was observed by a brotherhood in which Mr. Richard C. Jackson, an intimate associate of Pater's, figured for a while as the Rev. Brother a'Becket. That this gentleman was the original upon whom Pater based the character of his Marius, Mr. Wright seems amply to establish; indeed, Mr. Jackson's omnipresence in this new biography becomes almost a nuisance, although a recent communication to "The Academy," in which he exclaims against Mr. Wright's irreverent handling of Pater,—particularly the reference to him as "a vicarage Verlaine,"—would imply that he must not be held sponsor for all that these volumes convey.

In a biography so extensive as that of Mr. Wright's, the almost total absence of details of Pater's home life leaves a sense of incompleteness. Here, as is also the case in Mr. Benson's work, there is no *Pater-familias.* Much matter, however, relating to his friends and colleagues, gives this recent *Life* considerable charm and value. The fair sex, indeed, will find little attention devoted to it; in fact, one of the rare instances in which the ladies figure on the scene is that in the anecdote of Pater at a large reception in a Ladies' College at Oxford. The head of the house, seeing him approach, dropped her glove purposely. Instead of gallantly picking it up, he walked on and trod on it.

"Didn't you see how I rewarded the action?" he whispered to

an astonished friend. "If I had not remembered how, in spite of the honors heaped upon him by Queen Elizabeth, Sir Walter Raleigh was in the end led out to execution, perhaps I, too, might have made a fool of myself. Believe me, my dear sir, it was an insinuation of the devil that caused this woman to drop her glove."

Dr. F. W. Bussell, in summing up Pater's literary career, speaks of his life as "the gradual consecration of an exquisite sense of beauty to the highest ends: an almost literally exact advance through the stages of admiration in the Symposium, till at last he reached the sure haven, the one source of all that is fair and good." In the light of these words and of much that Mr. Wright has revealed to us, "Marius the Epicurean" assumes more and more the sense of a personal revelation of its author: into the figure of a friend, or more likely a composite of his friends, he has read the experiences of his own soul,—a soul "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." "Marius" becomes, as it were, the Parsifal of æstheticism, and beneath its outward calm and precision goes on that eternal drama of "the soul at war with sense," which has been the foundation of all the supreme things of literature and art.

It was, therefore, with a certain fitness that Pater should devote his last days to the study of Pascal—that Calvinist of Rome—whose inner life presents so many correspondences with his own. Not only in the philosophy of the French thinker, but also in his very methods of expression, he found himself strangely mirrored at the last. In such a passage, for instance, as that from the essay "*Sur l'Eloquence et la Style*" lies all the philosophy of Pater's style: "The very same sense is materially affected by the words that convey it. The sense receives its dignity from the words rather than imparts it to them." It is indeed the key to the excellence and the defects of Pater's works. "If I live long enough," he once remarked to Mr. Edmund Gosse, "I shall learn quite to like writing." For the dictionary in bed was at once his rack and his pillow, and a word that pleased him must sooner or later have a place found for it in his writings. "Lose the whole world, but find the *mot propre*," he had learnt from Flaubert, whose style is considered the immediate model of his own. It is generally overlooked, however, that Flaubert was no stylist in the sense in which the French recognize it in a Renan or a Loti. There was something Teutonic in his cast of mind which we feel equally in

the work of Pater. As yet, unfortunately, we possess no proper estimate of the relationship and debt of the English pre-Raphaelite and æsthetic movement to the German Romanticists of the "blue flower."

It is in the word rather than in the phrase that we must continue to look for Pater's greatness as an artist. He himself early realized that his sense of rhythm was defective, for Mr. Wright conclusively shows that notwithstanding Mr. Benson's statement to the contrary, he endeavored to write verse, but without success. Therefore, it is to the eye rather than the ear that he makes his appeal; his is the art of the mosaicist who picks out his rich materials bit by bit and lights up or shadows them into precision, nuance or suggestion like some master workman in a shadowy apse of Monreale or Venice. It is a self-conscious kind of expression which Mr. Wright compares to that of the fashionable Claytons who used to preach in lavender kid gloves. Yet Pater smashed no domestic crockery merely to make a noise in the world; but built up slowly and surely a structure of beauty in its ultimate and purest conception. If his writings never brought him more than three hundred pounds a year, he might remember Renan's remark that "nothing is less important than prosperity," and if in glancing back over his half-lonely, half-misinterpreted life we find that it teaches a moral as well as an artistic lesson, we reach a conclusion in which there is no doubt that he, the English great master of "Art for Art's Sake" would himself rejoice.

THOMAS WALSH.

"NINEVEH, AND OTHER POEMS."*

A NEW poet is an event; and the mere promise of an accomplished and important poet is a matter of unusual moment. In "Nineveh, and Other Poems," Mr. George Sylvester Viereck has shown himself a poet, and has given promise of importance and accomplishment to come. His present volume exhibits a natural aptitude for emotional expression. He speaks in spontaneous and eloquent verse, melodious with memories of the recurrent haunting harmonies of Poe, the sea-surge of Mr. Swinburne and the plangent tenderness of Oscar Wilde, and ringing also with a

* "Nineveh, and Other Poems." By George Sylvester Viereck. New York: Moffat, Yard & Company. 1907.

certain hammer-blow of passion which is entirely his own. He speaks with authority of the half-sensuous and half-religious hysteria of adolescence. He knows the awe of ancientness, the reverence of mystery, the sanctity of beauty. He knows both one and the other phase of the adolescent conflict between the body and the soul. He is capable of blasphemy and prayer. And he has imagination, chiefly of the panoramic sort. So many remarkable qualities united in the work of a poet only twenty-two years old make his volume worthy to be read; and the hope these qualities awaken of what he may become, makes his volume worthy to be studied.

I call him a poet not because of his fluency of verse, which is largely a matter of repatterned auditory reminiscence, nor because of the content of his work, which is as yet devoid of message; but because his best pieces are alive. They have an individual existence, apart from what they say or how they say it. They seem to have sprung full-grown from their creator's mind. They are born, not made. But, on the other hand, he is as yet neither an important poet nor an accomplished one. He is not important, because he is empty of great things to say; and he is not accomplished, because he has not learned to say things perfectly. But he gives promise of becoming both important and accomplished; and the best service that may be rendered to him, therefore, is to point out what as yet he lacks and indicate the lines along which he must develop in order to become of real value to the reading world.

It is only because I appreciate and laud his easy spontaneity of utterance that I presume to call attention to his technical defects. He seems to write entirely by ear, just as some people play the piano, rather than by studious and consciously commanded artistry. The ardor of his composition almost disguises the fact that he really knows very little about rhythm; but the fact betrays itself in certain pieces, and once betrayed, grows evident in nearly all. For instance, he is unable to command blank verse, the most delicate of English rhythms. The lines in "Aiander" are thumpingly end-stopped and almost without variety of cadence. One wonders at how much the writer's ear has failed to hear in the blank verse of the masters,—Milton and Tennyson, for example. Again, in his *vers libres,* he lacks sureness of auditory purpose in his alternation of long lines with short,—the kind of

sureness, I mean, that Wordsworth exhibits in his ode on "Intimations." He obeys the dictates of his rhythmic mood, rather than making his rhythmic mood obey the dictates of his mind. For this reason he almost always fails to maintain a stanzaic form that he has invented, and changes his mind about the form with each new stanza. He defends this practice in his preface; but a poet, with the example of the odes of Keats before him, admits weakness when he pleads for unnecessary license. His longer poems are shaky in structure: it is evident that he began to write them before he had them firmly built. He dashes gallantly through the province of a poem, instead of marching firmly to take possession of reconnoitred ground. Because of the weakness of his structural sense, his sonnets are less effective in their form than in their content. The reason for all these defects is that Mr. Viereck has not prepared himself for composition by a thorough study of the greatest versifiers. He has allowed his ear to be allured by the magic of minor masters; and being over-gifted with natural facility, he has not entirely discovered how much he has to learn.

Again, it is only because I appreciate and laud the passion and the poignancy of the things he has to say that I presume to call attention to the fact that these things, as yet, are not of prime importance. He knows mightily the riot of the senses and has felt with anguish the growing-pains of the soul. But his experience seems entirely of the world within himself rather than of the world without him. He knows nothing about nature and very little about men and women; and what he knows about the gods has been taught him, not by looking on at life, but by his own fears and hectic eagernesses. His god is finally the Sphinx,—the master of those who do not know. Much of his eroticism is derived, and therefore prurient; some of his soul-sorrow is literary. Of love, in its higher aspects, he is as yet apparently innocent; and his beautiful sonnet on "Friendship" suggests sadly that he is still a seeker unsatisfied. What he needs chiefly is a broader experience of life, and a knowledge of ideality externalized. It is time for his emotions to cease feeding on themselves; it is time that he should discover elements of beauty in normal, healthy and objective life. It is time that he should learn the things that people really need to know, in order to speak them with his voice.

Mr. Viereck owes it to himself to fulfil his promise; and he owes it even more to those who wait for poets in the world. With

his natural aptitude for utterance, he should not find it difficult to master English verse in ten years of unremitted labor. Whether or not he will find it difficult to grow to be a great man is another matter, and a more important one. Keats and Shelley were great men at Mr. Viereck's age; but with them the gods were hasty and allowed them little time. Mr. Viereck is as yet only a possibility; but his possibility is glorious. I, for one, will wait hopefully to see what he does with his life, himself and his work.

CLAYTON HAMILTON.

WORLD-POLITICS.

PARIS: WASHINGTON.

PARIS, *June, 1907.*

IT is always idle and often dangerous to say before the event that a nation is coming to a turning-point in its fortunes, that a new departure in politics is imminent or to commit oneself generally to any similar sweeping assertion. So, whatever may be the consequences in the near or remote future, I will merely say that I have to note in the present communication a not unexpected, but, nevertheless, somewhat sudden, check to the Socialist movement, which means a great deal more than even a change of Government. It is now eight years since the Socialists, numbering at the time little more than fifty, took the lead in the French Chamber. M. Waldeck-Rousseau had just come into office and cast about for the means of parrying the silly practical joke—consisting in a collusion of the Monarchists with the Extreme Left—by which half a dozen Premiers before him had been victimized. He thought that the only way open to him was to annex bodily the whole Socialist group, by adopting such parts of their programme as appeared realizable and securing the concurrence of one of their strongest men. So it was that social reforms like the suppression of the courts-martial, liberty of association, an old-age pension fund, etc., took the place of purely political measures, and the Socialist Millerand became Minister of Commerce.

This combination worked tolerably well throughout the three years of the Waldeck-Rousseau and the two years of the Combes Governments. The Socialists checked their natural violence and consented to be disciplined into supporters of the Cabinet. On the other hand, the old Radical group tinged their professions of faith with as much Socialism as they could absorb and gradually

called themselves Radical-Socialists. The immediate result was that Governments appeared more stable and became of unwonted duration.

Nevertheless, it was evident to the clear-sighted that the alliance between such opposite elements as the Socialists and their *bourgeois* neighbors could only be kept up artificially, and by a tacit agreement between them to steer clear of inevitable crucial questions. Some very useful measures were passed by M. Millerand: for instance, the creation of Councils of Labor and the law on the liability of employers, whilst legislation upon strikes was considerably improved. But these reforms had been for twenty years on M. de Mun's programme as well as on that of M. Jaurès. Of distinctly Socialist transformations there was no mention, or they were introduced in a manner so unmistakably academical that the blunt Socialists outside Parliament never refrained from calling them humbug. Practically, the only common platform on which the Socialists combined with the Radicals without any danger was anti-clericalism, and the positive work achieved until the general election of 1906 was little more than the expulsion of the religious orders, the break with Rome and, finally, the separation of Church and State.

The election returned to the Chamber an overwhelming majority of anti-clericals, demonstrating that the power of the Church and the danger accruing from it were mere bugbears. In spite of the tremendous effort made by M. Piou (*vide* the Montagnini papers), the "*Action Libérale*" or Catholic party and the Monarchists did not make up a sixth part of the Chamber.

The situation henceforward was clear. The Socialists had gained a score of seats; the Radical-Socialists had adhered to several of their claims (viz., the nationalization of railways and mines, the income tax and old-age pensions); there was a most able Socialist in the Cabinet, M. Briand; and the real Premier, M. Clémenceau, was a Radical-Socialist. In consequence, the policy to be followed during the four years of the new Parliament ought to be the Radical-Socialist policy. The first week of the session was entirely filled by the memorable conversation between Jaurès and Clémenceau, the upshot of which was that anti-clericalism, being purely negative, had become as indifferent to the country as clericalism; that Socialism in its radical form, *i. e.*, Collectivism, was impossible; but that the Socialism of re-

formers was in keeping with the wishes of the country appeared on the programme of the greater part of the majority, and therefore indicated the work which the Chamber ought to take up at once. In fact, the nationalization of railways—beginning with the Western Railway—the income tax and old-age pension were the chief topics of the Ministerial address read by M. Clémenceau.

The Socialists regarded them as the minimum which they ought to expect from a Radical-Socialist Ministry. As to the Radical-Socialists, there is every reason to believe that they looked upon these measures as mere electoral professions, political castles in the air, which are always talked about and never seen. No less than seven income-tax bills have been framed by successive Ministers, and discussed by as many Committees, without anything ever coming of them. Why, they probably asked themselves, should this comfortable state of affairs be changed under Clémenceau, rather than under Combes? Our Radical-Socialists, therefore, saw with perfect equanimity M. Caillaux tackle the eighth income-tax bill, and M. Clémenceau entrust to the Senate the nationalization of the Western Railway.

However, this tranquillity was soon to be disturbed. After a long and scandalous opposition from all the Conservative parties, Radicals as well as Monarchists, a law enforcing weekly rest was passed by the Chamber and put on its trial. The result might have been prophesied. The employed naturally welcomed their weekly holiday, but insisted that no reduction in their salary ought to follow, while employers resented the idea of more men being employed and smaller profits cleared. The opinions of both parties were soon echoed in Parliament, thanks to several strikes of exceptional duration; the *bourgeois* Radicals spoke of serious changes to be made in the law, and the Socialists assumed a threatening tone which had not been heard for many years on their benches. The "class contest" was beginning to be more than a scarecrow. After a few months, the law was so altered as to be virtually nullified; but the Socialists started an agitation unparalleled in the history of the Third Republic, which soon brought the conflict between them and the Radicals to the verge of exasperation.

There is no unanimity among the French Socialists, and even in the Chamber their union is often little better than a necessity;

but their practical organization has reached a perfection to which only religious associations have heretofore attained. The strength of this organization lies in the fact that it rests on definite and undoubted interests, being not exclusively political, but rather economic. The whole country is covered with a powerful network of trade-unions, in close connection with one another, and bound together by a General Labor Confederation, the seat of which is at the Labor Exchange of Paris. The existence of the trade-unions was made legal as early as 1884, and the federation of kindred unions was natural and spontaneous. But the General Confederation of unions of all kinds only took place three or four years ago, not without secret jealousy and disquietude on the part of the Government, which could not but feel that a central organization with a legal seat in Paris—the Labor Exchange was built by the State—large financial possibilities, and unquestioned authority constituted another government, set up against it.

It is with this tremendous power that the Radicals are now quarrelling.

The reader may wonder that they should have waited so long to enter upon open warfare with such dangerous enemies. But the enmity was not absolutely clear from the first. Some "companions" made no secret of the hopes they entertained of being able gradually to organize the Fourth Estate so strongly that the *bourgeois* would one day find themselves face to face with the whole proletariat; and the yearly threat of a universal strike on May 1st ought to have admonished the Radicals of the real intentions of the Confederation. But, as I have said, the Radicals still lived under the delusion that their political union with M. Jaurès in Parliament meant security everywhere.

They were suddenly aroused by a few rather startling moves of the Confederation.

At the same time that vast protest against the remodelling of the law on weekly rest was the order of the day, a Socialist movement was initiated in quarters where only a few years back it would have been supposed impossible. There have been, of late years, constant strikes of the workmen employed at Cherbourg, Brest, Lorient and Toulon in the naval arsenals, and there may be some connection between the spirit of lawlessness prevalent in those ports and the terrible series of disasters in the French Navy during the past two years. These mechanics do not

strike merely to have their wages raised or their hours shortened, —the fact is they are pretty well paid for little work,—but they insist that they have a right to form themselves into a trade-union in connection with the General Confederation, even though their employer be the State and their occupation that of national defence. This theory all successive Governments have naturally rejected. But their resistance never was sufficiently decided to preclude fresh attempts at securing corporate immunity. The consequence was that the tide rose instead of subsiding. In October last the Paris postmen struck in their turn, formed into syndicates and succeeded in having themselves entered at the Labor Exchange. Several of them were dismissed, but the General Confederation still keeps up an agitation to have them taken back. Finally, the elementary teachers, whose Socialist tendencies are every day growing stronger, transformed their friendly societies into trade-unions and would have affiliated them with the General Confederation if they had not met with an indignant interdict from M. Clémenceau. However, whether affiliated or not, the Confederation can boast, and does boast on every occasion, that, whenever the general strike is possible, the national defence in the ports, the postal services in Paris and education in most places shall be stopped, as well as railway traffic and the making of bread.

This prospect is dark, indeed, and its possibility might have been doubted had it not been for two manifestations of the violence latent in the Socialist circles. On March 9th, the electricians employed in the Paris works, dissatisfied with the trend of negotiations entered into by the Municipal Council with two rival companies, suddenly stopped work, and for two nights Paris was given up to the picturesqueness and dangers of torchlight. On the third night, M. Clémenceau sent in military electricians who worked as best they could, but this interference was violently denounced by M. Jaurès, who insisted that it amounted to setting the right of striking at naught, and a fresh agitation ensued. A few days later, a placard bearing the signatures of the members of the "Central Committee" and addressed to M. Clémenceau was posted up everywhere. This mysterious "Central Committee"—unheard of since the dark days of the Commune—simply told the Premier that, only a short time ago, he championed the syndicates of State Servants,

and reminded the Minister of Education of a certain untoward speech delivered by him—in the not very remote period when he was a Socialistic journalist—to the effect that the general strike ought to be the great object of the Socialists, and if the soldiers were sent by the Government against their suffering brethren, their rifles might not be discharged in the expected direction.

This bold interference of the Central Committee caused a commotion in Paris and roused the Government. M. Briand dismissed—against the decision of the special jury—a schoolmaster who had signed the placard, and M. Clémenceau found a pretext for imprisoning two other members of the Committee.

Even the grim appearance of the Central Committee, however, would have left the Parisians indifferent but for the object-lesson they had previously received from the electricians. This had much more than a transient effect. For the first time a tremendous power had been injured—the press, which nowadays depends almost entirely on electricity—and the outcry for two days' annoyance was much louder than it had been for many a dire injustice. For the first time, the Socialist papers found themselves alone, against all the rest of the press, in trying to explain and defend the strikers' action. For the first time, many an amateur in semi-Socialist literature felt that the game was serious and that he might be making a fool of himself. I have never seen the press so unanimous as it has been during the past three months in denouncing, as a "public danger," the work of the General Confederation, and calling upon the Government to be firm in the defence of Society. There has been a marked dearth of exciting political events, and yet the tone of the papers never was more excited.

Unfortunately for M. Clémenceau and his Cabinet, this unanimity has gone farther against Socialistic ideas than he would have liked, and the consequence is a highly paradoxical situation. The Chamber, like the press, has followed the Premier in his resistance to the General Confederation; so much so that M. Clémenceau would have run no risk in limiting the Syndicates to their natural business and introducing a bill against any political action on their part. The Socialists are now completely isolated, and M. Pelletan, one of the few Radical-Socialists who adhere to them, is deeply disgusted with his own group, whom he calls liars and renegades. But neither the press nor the Parlia-

ment will be content with a shabby policy of resistance to outrages which the courts ought to be competent to repress. What they want is nothing short of a reversal of the programme adopted by both the Socialists and the Radical-Socialists. But, as I have said above, the outstanding points of this programme are the nationalization of the Western Railway and the income tax, and these two bills were the centrepiece of M. Clémenceau's Ministerial address. The Western Railway bill is opposed by the senatorial committee appointed for its examination, by all the great companies whose future it implicitly threatens, and by the seventy-seven French Chambers of Commerce without a single exception. The income-tax bill fares even worse. At a recent election of senatorial delegates, two ex-Ministers were left out on their stating that they were favorable to the bill.

M. Jaurès has already begun a campaign of intimidation which might force the Senate into obedience; but the Senate counts for little as compared with the press, and the average income—distinctly that of the journalist—is confessedly that which will most suffer. The unscrupulous but powerful and popular newspaper, "*Le Matin*," wages daily war against the bill, which at present has not the ghost of a chance.

Now the question is, first of all, What is to become of a Cabinet whose fortunes M. Clémenceau has solemnly bound up with those of the two bills? Clearly it must go to pieces the moment it is thrown against such an obstacle. M. Clémenceau is not likely to give up his own programme, and if he did, he would, in M. Ribot's words, rob the Moderates of their own policy, which would only be another manner of reinstating them in power, and of placing himself in an impossible position. Go, then, he must, and possibly will of his own accord, instead of stultifying himself.

Another question is, How is a majority to be found exclusive of the Radical-Socialist programme and the Radical-Socialist vote? Will it be strong enough to encounter the immense power organized by the Socialists and impersonated by the General Confederation of Labor, which is tainted with anti-religious and anti-patriotic fallacies, and is lawless and reckless?

This the future will answer, but the *bourgeois* unanimity in the press, compared with such a movement as that of the wine-growers refusing in seven departments to pay a farthing of their taxes, shows that the crisis may be very near.

WASHINGTON, *June, 1907.*

THERE is no doubt that the delegates of the United States to the second Hague Conference have been exceedingly well treated as regards assignments to the three important committees which are to deal respectively with the questions of arbitration, land warfare and maritime warfare. There still seems to be, however, some uncertainty concerning the position which the representatives of our Government will take concerning one interesting matter. When, on June 19th, General Horace Porter, one of our delegates, announced that the United States would reserve the right to present the question of a reduction of armaments, it was too hastily assumed that our State Department means to exercise the right. It may be averred upon the highest authority that, in the opinion of Mr. Root, the mooting of that question properly belongs to some European Power, and that only at the last moment, if at all, will the United States start a discussion of a proposal in which other countries are more deeply concerned. There are two reforms of moment, however, with regard to which it is settled that our delegates will stand forth as advocates of material changes in international law. For at least half a century we have been champions of the principle that the private property even of the subjects or citizens of a belligerent Power should be immune from capture at sea, unless it should be adjudged contraband of war. Our Government would have renounced privateering, and signed the Declaration of Paris, made in 1856, if the other signatories would have accepted that principle. It is expected that our delegates will now bring forward a similar proposal, but it remains to be seen whether Great Britain, which rejected the suggestion fifty-one years ago, is now inclined to take a different view of it. In 1856, she was far from being so dependent on the importation of breadstuffs from this side of the Atlantic as she is now. As regards the second object to which our efforts will be especially directed, Mr. Joseph H. Choate, the head of the American delegation, announced in a letter to M. Nelidoff, the President of the Conference, that, at the proper time, he should raise the question of prohibiting the collection by force of contract debts, a proceeding of which the latest example was the bombardment of Venezuelan seaports by the allied squadrons of Great Britain, Germany and Italy. Opinions differ as to the likelihood of an endorsement of the

proposal by the Conference. Great Britain (with Egypt in mind), and Germany and Italy, that by violence made themselves preferred creditors of Venezuela, and secured the application of a part of the debtor's customs revenue to the liquidation of their claims, can scarcely be expected to assent to the proposed change in the law of nations. It seems, moreover, to have been assumed too hastily that, in recommending the Drago Doctrine, our Government would have the support of all the Latin-American republics. Two of those commonwealths—Brazil and Mexico—do not regard the doctrine with favor, and the representatives of Chile are expected to take a similar attitude. On the whole, the prospect of seeing the Drago Doctrine embedded in international law is not good.

The apprehension which seems to have been felt in some quarters that the destruction of the property of certain Japanese residents by a mob in San Francisco might provoke a demand for an indemnity, and that this demand, if pressed without a preceding recourse to the Courts, might create on the part of our people a resentment that would lead to war, has died away. It is true that some well-informed and thoughtful citizens of California still take a very serious view of the situation. For example, Mr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President of the University of California, speaking at a dinner given in New York on June 20th, expressed the belief that the conditions on the Pacific Coast, so far as Oriental peoples are concerned, are still very grave, and present to American residents in that section a question that will not be solved easily. He pronounced it a mistake to suppose that all we have to consider is whether or no the Japanese and Chinese shall be permitted to attend the schools frequented by white children, or that we have only to inquire whether or no certain Japanese have been assaulted or despoiled. The question, he says, is of much broader scope. It is whether or no the people of that coast shall become inoculated with Oriental ideas and customs. In a word, shall or shall not the States of the Pacific Coast suffer the same fate that has overtaken Hawaii? That is one view of the matter. A very different opinion was expressed on the same day in Washington by Viscount Aoki, the Ambassador of Japan. He insisted that there is no "situation" and no "question" between Japan and the United States. He averred that, on the contrary, the best of relations exist, and that there is no dispute under

diplomatic consideration. He pronounced it distressing that there should be agitation over trifles which are of purely local import, if of import at all. To the inquiry whether the so-called Progressive party, of which Count Okuma used to be the head, is strong enough, or likely to be strong enough, to secure his recall, Viscount Aoki pointed out that the Progressives do not possess a majority in the popular branch of the Tokio Parliament, and have no present prospect of securing one. He might have added that the so-called "Constitutionalists" and "Unionists," between them, greatly preponderate in that body, and both of those parties have refused to cooperate with the Progressives in the stimulation of anti-American sentiment. Moreover, within the last few days, the Progressive party itself has split upon that point. Viscount Aoki directed attention also to the fact that, while Japan might have, at the utmost, including its newly acquired subjects, a population of about 50,000,000, the United States have not far from ninety millions, and are incomparably richer. He declared, in fine, that no country could dominate the Pacific, and that it was absurd to suppose that Japan could ever hope to control so vast a commerce as China and other Asiatic countries are capable of developing. It was true, he admitted, that labor is cheap in Japan; but he was confident, he said, that the United States, with their constantly improving machinery, would always be able to produce commodities as cheaply. To the final question whether the war talk in Japan might not be stopped by official interposition, he replied that, while undoubtedly the Tokio Government could stifle it, such a proceeding might give the talk more importance than it deserved. There seems, by the way, to be no foundation for the report that our Navy Department is seriously considering the expediency of placing all of our battle-ships in the Pacific, leaving our seaports on the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico to be defended by monitors, armored cruisers, protected cruisers, submarines and gunboats. The newspaper discussion of the subject has had, however, a wholesome effect. It has fastened attention on the fact that we have it in our power to place within a few months no fewer than twenty-one battle-ships—three of which have a displacement of 16,000 tons, and four a displacement of about 15,000 tons—in the Pacific Ocean, a force with which Japan could not dream of competing.

Until the fact was brought out the other day in the Washington

"Star," few Americans were aware that we annually pay a considerable sum in pensions to persons who live in foreign countries. There are, it seems, no fewer than 5,268 such pensions. Of these 2,657 dwell in Canada, 600 in Germany, 495 in Ireland, 391 in England and 27 in Scotland. Even in Switzerland there are 70, and a like number in Sweden. In almost every other European State, and also in Australasia, China and Japan, there are at least a few individuals who receive yearly a pension voucher from our Government. The whole sum, however, thus disbursed is relatively inconsiderable, being only $750,000, whereas the total amount to be paid out on account of our pension list next year will fall but little short of $150,000,000.

Since we reviewed the status of the Presidential campaign a month ago, there have been some changes. The unanimous endorsement of the candidacy of Senator Knox by the Pennsylvania State Convention seems to have fallen flat. It has evoked no enthusiastic response even in New England, and scarcely any attention has been paid to it in the Central West, or in the Trans-Mississippi States. Judge Taft still appears to be certain to have the Ohio delegation behind him, but there are indications that his nomination might deprive the Republicans of the negro vote in that State. The indignation which has been worked up among negroes by Senator Foraker's exposure of the scanty evidence on which the colored companies accused of disorder in Brownsville were dismissed is threatening Republican supremacy in a number of States where the negro vote is large enough to turn the scale in closely contested elections. It seems to have been the fear of losing the negro vote that caused the Kentucky State Convention to refrain, the other day, from endorsing Judge Taft by name, though it commended the Roosevelt policies. The Republican State Committee of Kansas approved Judge Taft's candidacy some time ago, but that was before politicians had awakened to the possibility that the Brownsville incident might cause negro voters to support the Democratic nominee. On the whole, it now looks as if there would be a great many "favorite-son" delegations in the next Republican National Convention, and Colonel Henry Watterson, who is as good a prophet as any, might be right in believing that Governor Hughes, if he has the New York delegates behind him, may, in the end, get the nomination.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

MONDAY, *July 1.* Railway Securities and the Money Market.

WE have received the following communication:

"SIR,—In an article in the Editor's Diary of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of recent date, 'President Roosevelt as an Ally of the Money Power,' it is stated that, by insisting upon the railroad and trust magnates obeying the laws regulating commerce as passed by Congress, and by trying to hold them responsible for their transgressions, President Roosevelt helps the money-lenders.

"You say that our capitalists could not have been prevailed upon to furnish money when we began building our transcontinental roads, after the Civil War, unless they were enticed to do so by the expectation of great profits. They were not *our* capitalists who furnished the cash for the building of the Union Pacific, for they were rather small in those times, and would scarcely have been able to furnish it. It was the Government—the people—who loaned funds for the purpose, and a hard and long fight they had to make to get back their own, long after the Union Pacific was abundantly able to pay back Government loans. And, further, it was to foreign capital that the promoters of the enterprise had to look at that time to put the work through.

"The country too thinly peopled in those times to permit the timid home capitalists to take ventures in far-off railroad enterprises? Indeed! *Comparasiones sunt odiosæ.* But our neighbor, Canada, could afford to build her Pacific road through the wilderness, and the road has not had to be reorganized, like nearly every one of our trunk lines; the Canadian Pacific was honestly built, has not been over-capitalized, its accounts have been properly kept and balanced and there has not been any juggling with stocks, so far as we are aware.

"No, sir. Those who have money to lend have always been ready to invest in safe enterprises at a fair or even relatively low rate of interest; if they now refuse to lend the big railroad and other corporations any more money at less than five and six per cent. on short-time notes, they have a very good reason for it. They have at last taken the lesson to heart that the great magnates have not been and are not as honest as they should be, and that they are apt to loot the treasury of the roads they have taken possession of by stock manipulations, in the same way as, but on a larger scale than, their forebears.

"To be sure, they are ever ready to invite the dear public to come into the game, and bring the funds which help to fill the coffers of the great captains, and then? *Caveat emptor!*

"Further, you opine that the six-per-cent. notes offered by the roads are to run just so long as Mr. Roosevelt's term will last? So it would seem that our worthy President has become an obstacle to the continuance of our vaunted prosperity, and no sooner will he have left the White House than the great captains will find all the money they want again at four per cent.

"I do not agree with this insinuation or indictment. So long as the railroad directors declare excessive dividends and enrich themselves and their friends, the money-lenders also will be entitled to five or six per cent. at least on their investments. Let the railroad directors declare fair dividends and put aside good sums of their surplus for maintenance, improvement and extension of their roads, and they will then not be obliged to go begging for money and put out notes at high interest. There is no reason why, at their present crisis, they should not be ready to part with some of the hoards they have made and help their own roads.

"Carelessness in operating the roads, losses made by maintaining excessive speed on roadbeds which cannot bear it without danger, insane competition among trunk lines, the building of unnecessary parallel lines and, last but not least, stock jugglery of the men in command—these are the main reasons, I think, of the present embarrassment and failure.

"Much the same do we see when we look into the affairs of most of the trusts. They are all over-capitalized; they all force the producer to sell as cheaply as possible—and to them only; they have transgressed the Interstate Commerce Law, and all of them have taken rebates from the railroads whenever they could get them, in order to stifle competition and force out private competitors.

"Everywhere and anywhere we turn our eyes we see the same hoggish greed to gain much, and more, and more, and never to be satisfied. That is the curse of our times, it seems, the curse of the 'ring.' After Roosevelt leaves the White House, the plutocrats will not come in again to rule by dishonesty and extravagant luxury, as they have done; for such prosperity as we now enjoy is no longer wholesome; it is false, offensive and riotous, and the sooner we sober up the better it will be for the future of the country.

"I am, sir, etc.,

"LEONARD WEBER.

"NEW YORK CITY."

In the article to which Mr. Weber refers, we endeavored to call attention to the indications that the war on the railroads had already brought distress, not only upon the roads, but upon those whom they serve. Upon this point we said:

"Billions of dollars are needed immediately for a great expansion of facilities to meet obvious requirements and, for the first time in the history of the country, cannot be obtained. Bonds of the strongest railway corporations in the world are a drug on the market, and new issues for pressing needs are not dreamed of. Instead of being able to fund obligations at low rates of interest, nearly every large railway company has been compelled to pay excessive sums for temporary accommodations, thus inevitably inducing retrenchment in expenditures when extension of facilities is the chief need of both producer and consumer."

Not only is this statement absolutely true, but, since these words were printed, and since Mr. Weber's communication was received, Mr. Roosevelt has given public utterance to his own recognition of the threatened danger to the roads, to the shippers and to the country, which has resulted from his own war upon the railroads, while he has asserted, in his own words, the actual existence of the conditions set forth in the above quotation. All this he did in his recent speech at Indianapolis.

Mr. Weber, recognizing also that the railroads are paying high rates of interest for temporary accommodation, declares himself an unbeliever in our assertion that Mr. Roosevelt is "to-day, unconsciously, of course, the most effective ally of the money-lending power in the world, and bears a responsibility for a retrogressive movement surcharged with possibilities of disaster to the country and the people."

We are told that it is not Mr. Roosevelt or the war that he has stirred up which is the compelling cause of the inability of the railroads to sell new bonds, and of the ability of the money-lenders to exact from them high rates of interest for temporary accommodation. We are told that, on the contrary, these ills have fallen on the railroads on account of the dishonesty of their officers and directors; because they have declared excessive dividends; because they have lost vast sums of money by "maintaining excessive speed on roadbeds which cannot bear it without danger"; because of "insane competition among trunk lines—the building of unnecessary parallel lines, and, last but not least, stock jugglery of the men in command."

The temper of Mr. Weber's letter is significant. It is the temper of war, and is, therefore, unreasoning. A short time ago, indeed, the atmosphere was so surcharged with the electricity of battle, that one who was taking part in the combat against the rail-

roads would not have listened to any reply or to any argument that was advanced for the purpose of opposing reason to the outcries of battling champions. Now this has been, fortunately, changed by the admission of the President himself that there has been much wild talk about over-capitalization, and that the railroads need friendly, and not hostile, treatment if they are to meet the demands of the country for the extension of transportation facilities.

The causes assigned by Mr. Weber for the present inability of the "strongest" roads—and it was to them expressly that we referred—to market securities, are not supported by the history of such securities. Before the present war on the roads, investors were content to buy good railroad bonds at prices which brought them a revenue of less than four per cent. It is only since the war was inaugurated that nearly all four-per-cent. railroad bonds have fallen below par. It is illustrative of the recklessness of the talk against railroads that the four-per-cent. bonds of the Union Pacific bring a little more than par, a significant reminder of the value of Government support instead of Government enmity. If the bad management of the railroads, and not the sudden hostility of politicians, were accountable for the loss of railroad credit with investors, the results would have been felt long ago. As a matter of fact, the investors were frightened and the money-lenders saw their chance of profit, immediately after the efforts of the politicians began to be formulated in legislation as well as in threats—legislation, it is well to repeat, that directly followed Mr. Root's "warning" that, if the States did not act as Mr. Roosevelt desires, the Federal Government would take away their constitutional powers by "judicial constructions." Not only were the State legislatures driven to enact predatory laws—for there is predatory politics, as well as "predatory plutocracy" and "predatory poverty"—but investors declined to buy railroad securities at prices for which the roads could afford to part with them. That this decline in the security market was due to sudden war and to its promised continuance is shown by the fact that up to its breaking out investors had been willing, and glad, to put their money into railroad bonds. Now was the time for the money-lender, and he improved it.

Not only is it not true that the bad management of the roads is accountable for the inability of the roads to sell their securities

at remunerative prices; not only, Mr. Roosevelt confessing it, are the railroads not over-capitalized, but, as a matter of fact, over-capitalization of the ordinary stock corporation injures only those who subscribe and pay in the excessive capital; as to railroads, the belief that they differ from other corporations is fallacious. At the most, it can be said of railroads having no competition in States where there is no regulation, that they may fix rates at will, and in order to pay dividends on water. Most railroads have competition or are regulated, as to charges, by State or national laws; as to such railroads, the great majority, the over-capitalization argument cannot apply.

Nor, if it did, has the question anything to do with the price of bonds. Bonds represent a debt, and the interest on them must come out of earnings before any dividend is paid, whether the shares represent the true value of the profit or water.

Again, how can it be said, in view of what the law has attempted, and accomplished, in the way of preventing competition, that "insane competition among the trunk lines" has aided to imperil the credit of the roads? The purpose of regulation has been to compel competition by keeping parallel lines in mutually independent or even antagonistic hands, while it has also been its endeavor to deprive the public of the supposed fruits of competition by determining rates.

Not only are the roads not over-capitalized; not only is over-capitalization impossible so far as most of the roads of this country are concerned; not only are the other reasons—including the disastrous effect of fast trains and stock jugglery on the credit of the "strongest railway corporations"—not explanatory of the failure of credit among investors, but it is also true that Mr. Weber is wrong in saying that the payment of excessive dividends, and the consequent failure to "put aside good sums of their surplus for maintenance, improvement and extension," account for the "present crisis." As will readily be seen by any intelligent reader, this reason cannot be sound if the other reasons, already considered, are sound. But let that pass; both sets of reasons are unsound. It is not true that excessive dividends have been paid by the railroads of this country.

The figures that will most readily convince a critic of the railroads are naturally those of the Interstate Commerce Commission. In 1900, the statistician of the Commission stated, in its annual

report, that the share capital of the railroad was about $6,000,000,000. On only 3 per cent. of this stock was the dividend in excess of 8 per cent., while on 72 per cent. of the bonds the interest was less than 6 per cent.; and it was while the management of the roads was notoriously worse than it is now that the roads were enabled to borrow readily on terms more advantageous than they can now obtain. The average return on bonds and stock together was only 3.4 per cent. As Professor Seager says in his admirable "Introduction to Economics," the interest and dividend which the railroads pay to investors "seem, when the risks connected with such enterprises are considered, scarcely a fair, and certainly not an excessive, return."

One fact more may be added from Professor Veditz's American edition of the "Principles of Political Economy" by Professor Charles Guide, lecturer on Economics at the Paris Law School. Professor Guide says: "The average cost per mile for road and equipment in the United States is about $50,000, in Germany it is about $120,000, in France $130,000 and in England considerably more." As a matter of fact, the actual cost of road and equipment in the United States was, in 1900, a good deal more than the par value of the shares of stock placed on the market by the corporations and about equal to the total of the bonds and stock. There is no reason to be found in the physical value of the roads; in the amount of their business; in their prospects for the future; nor in the character of their management, which can account for the difficulty of selling securities in order to raise money to carry on work needed by the country; and, therefore, it is fair to say that the existing state of the public mind, which has been brought about by the war upon the roads and the threats of future war, is responsible for evils which the railroads are now experiencing—evils in which the whole country must share, if there does not come a change over the minds of a large body of men who have been stirred to the depths by such assertions and such reasoning as we have endeavored to answer. Fortunately, the leader of the disaster-breeding movement has shown some signs of withdrawal from his advanced position; but, on the other hand, there are, also, signs that the lesson which he has imparted cannot be eradicated from receptive minds without serious and persistent teaching such as that which saved the country from the silver craze of 1896.

ESPERANTO.

PART XIV.

MANY students of Esperanto, and particularly beginners, see defects in the language, and are free with suggestions of changes and "reforms." From this tendency arose a rumor that Dr. Zamenhof intends to "reform" Esperanto. Dr. Zamenhof's reply, published in that admirable journal, *La Revuo,* in lucid Esperanto, should be read by every student of the language. We quote it here:

PRI REFORMOJ EN ESPERANTO.

EN la lasta tempo inter la Esperantistoj kuris la famo, ke mi intencas "reformi Esperanton." Tiu ĉi famo, kiu povas fariĝi tre danĝera, estas absolute malvera. Mi neniam intencis arbitre reformi la lingvon, ĉar tio ĉi ne sole estus pereiga por nia afero, sed mi havas por tio ĉi eĉ nenian moralan rajton. De la tempo, kiam mi, antaŭ 18 jaroj, publikigis la "Aldonon al la Dua Libro," Esperanto ĉesis aparteni al mi,—ĝi apartenas de tiam al la tuta mondo esperantista, kaj mi neniam intencis malsaĝe repostuli por mi ian rajton de mastreco, kiun mi nun jam repostuli *ne povas,* ĉar sur la fundamento, kiun mi donis, multaj aliaj homoj jam tre multe konstruis kaj laboris. Oni scias, ke de la momento, kiam mi en la jaro 1889 fordonis mian mastrecon, mi neniam permesis al mi fari propravole en la lingvo ian eĉ plej malgrandan ŝanĝon. Se mi ne faris tion ĉi *ĝis* nun, tiom pli mi ja certe neniam ekdezirus fari tion ĉi *nun,* post la Bulonja Deklaracio (kiun mi ja donis *propravole*), post miaj longatempe pripensitaj klarigoj en la Antaŭparolo al la "Fundamento de Esperanto" kaj post la fondo de la "Lingva Komitato," al kiu mi propravole fordonis ĉiun aŭtoritatecon en la aferoj de la lingvo. Sekve, konante mian agadon kaj mian rilaton al Esperanto en la daŭro de 20 jaroj, la Esperantistoj povas esti *tute trankvilaj:* mi neniam surprizos ilin per ia arbitra ŝanĝo en la lingvo, por kiu mi, simile al ĉia alia Esperantisto, jam de

longe havas nenian rajton; neniam mi altrudos al ili mian personan deziron; kaj se eĉ mi volus iam freneze fari tian senrajtan kaj pereigan faron, ĉiuj Esperantistoj povas kontraŭmeti al mi la Bulonjan Deklaracion kaj diri: "ni ne permesas."

Ne! Neniam mi havis kaj neniam mi havos la intencon proprajuĝe reformi Esperanton. La kaŭzo de la malĝusta famo pri la "reformoj" estis jena:

Jam antaŭ longe mi trovis, ke oni povus enkonduki en Esperanton kelkajn plibonigojn per vojo *natura, sen reformoj, sen ia rompado de la lingvo.* Tiu ĉi sendanĝera kaj natura vojo estas la vojo de "neologismoj kaj arĥaismoj," pri kiu mi parolis en la Antaŭparolo al la "Fundamento de Esperanto." Mi ellaboris en la lastaj jaroj tabelon da neologismoj, kiun mi intencis prezenti al la esploro de la Lingva Komitato.

Sed antaŭ ol prezenti mian projekton al la Lingva Komitato, mi ĝin prezentis private al kelkaj Esperantistoj, kaj tiam mi baldaŭ konvinkiĝis, ke la malsameco de la opinioj estas tiel grandega kaj interkonsentigi inter si la diversajn opiniojn estas tiel malfacilege, ke eĉ la plej senkulpa vojo de neologismoj povus nin enmiti en tre grandan danĝeron. Tial post tre longa korespondado kaj priparolado (por kiu mi eĉ speciale veturis Parizon kaj Bruselon) mi fine decidis *forĵeti* mian projekton. Sekve mia projekto de neologismoj, pri kiuj multaj Esperantistoj aŭdis sub la tute malĝusta nomo de "reformoj," nun *ne* estos prezentita al la Lingva Komitato. Mi atendos kun ĝi, ĝis venos tempo pli oportuna kaj ĝis ni havos plenan certecon, ke parolado pri neologismoj jam ne povas kaŭzi inter la Esperantistoj ian konfuzon aŭ malpacon.

Sed se pri *neologismoj,* kiuj, nenion ŝanĝante nek rompante, prezentas por la lingvo nenian danĝeron, mi pli aŭ malpli frue eble ankoraŭ reparolos,—pri *reformoj* ni absolute *neniam* devas paroli (almenaŭ ĝis la tempo, kiam nia lingvo havos plenan leĝdonan sankcion de la registaroj). Dudek jaroj de nia praktika laborado montris, ke Esperanto tre bone taŭgas por ĉio, kion ni bezonas, kaj ke la vojo, kiun ni iras, estas bona; ni gardu do nin de ĉia tro frutempa deflankiĝo, antaŭ ol Esperanto atingis tute plenan venkon! Ĉar per serĉado de plibono, pri kiu ni fantazias, ni povus facile perdi la bonon, kiun ni posedas.

Nia ŝipo estas nun en la mezo de la maro! Ĝi iras bone kaj ĝi naĝas bonorde al sia celo. Tial ni gardu nin fari kun ĝi iajn

eksperimentojn kaj elvoki malpacon inter la ŝipanoj en la mezo de la maro! Ni atendu, ĝis la ŝipo venos al la haveno!

Ne pro obstineco, ne pro malamo al progreso kaj ne pro aŭtora amo al mia verko mi tion ĉi parolas. Mi esperas, ke la amantoj de reformoj tion ĉi komprenos kaj ili oferos siajn personajn gustojn kaj opiniojn por la bono de nia afero. Se troviĝos tiaj malkontentuloj, kiuj ne volas tion ĉi fari aŭ kiuj obstine restas ĉe sia opinio, ke mi eraras, ke mi estas tro malkuraĝa kaj ke la bono de Esperanto nepre postulas reformojn, mi petas ilin, ke ili prezentu sian proponon ne al mi, sed al la Lingva Komitato. De mia flanko mi promesas, ke, kvankam mi ĉiam dirados al la Lingva Komitato mian opinion kaj ĉiam penados per admonoj deteni ĝin de ĉiu danĝera aŭ neĝustatempa paŝo, mi tamen ĉiun bonorde ekzamenitan kaj leĝe voĉdonitan decidon de la Komitato ĉiam akceptos sen protesto.

LAZARO LUDOVIKO ZAMENHOF.

SONORILOJ DE VESPERO.

(El T. Moore.)

SONORILOJ de vespero,
Sonoriloj de vespero!
Kiom ili rakontadas
Pri juneco kaj espero,
Pri la domo de gepatroj,
Pri la dolĉa, kora ĝojo,
Kiam mi ilian sonon
Aŭdis je la lasta fojo!

Longe, longe jam forpasis
Tiuj de l' ĝojeco horoj!
Ekdorminte je eterne,
Jam ne batas multaj koroj....
En la tomboj ili loĝas
Post la ĝojo kaj sufero:
Ne por ili la muziko,
Sonoriloj de vespero!

Ankaŭ kiam mi ripozos
Je eterne en trankvilo,
Ne ekhaltos la batado
De vespera sonorilo,
Dum kun kanto novaj bardoj
Paŝos jam sur nia tero,
Kaj vin aŭdos, kaj vin laŭdos,
Sonoriloj de vespero!

El "Kondukanto" de Grabowski.

NOTE.—Those who wish to become members of the REVIEW'S Esperanto Society, see advertising pages for membership application form.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

ELLIS HENRY ROBERTS

was Treasurer of the United States from 1897 to 1905. He was born in Utica in 1827. In 1851 he became editor and later part owner of the Utica "Morning Herald." He went to Congress from New York in 1871 and from 1889 to 1893 he was Assistant Treasurer of the United States. Among his published works are "Government Revenue, Especially the American System."

ROBERT DEC. WARD,

one of the founders of the Immigration Restriction League, is Assistant Professor of Climatology in Harvard University. He is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the Royal Meteorological Society of London, and a member of the *Deutsche Meteorologische Gesellschaft.* He has already contributed to this REVIEW on the subject of immigration.

LEILA MECHLIN

has been for seven years art critic of the Washington "Evening Star," and has made a study of the field of art in this country.

ORLANDO F. LEWIS

is the Superintendent of the Joint Application Bureau of New York City. This Department is maintained by the Charity Organization Society and the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, for the charitable treat-

ment of homeless persons. Mr. Lewis has exceptional facilities for studying the individual cases of thousands of homeless persons. The Joint Application Bureau has co-operated with the Department of Health of New York City during the last year in the revision of the regulations of the sanitary code relating to the supervision and maintenance of common lodging-houses in New York City, and is at present engaged in bringing to public attention its latest investigations regarding vagrancy in the United States.

CRAMMOND KENNEDY,

a native of Scotland, came to New York in 1856. On completing his studies at Madison University in 1863, he became chaplain of the 79th New York Infantry, and was brevetted major for services in Tennessee and the Wilderness. In 1864-5, he lectured in England and Scotland on the Civil War. In 1869, he joined Henry Ward Beecher in establishing "The Christian Union," of which he became managing editor in 1870. Turning to law, he graduated from the Columbia Law School in 1878, and has practised in New York and Washington, his law business having been consolidated with that of the firm of Coudert Brothers. Mr. Kennedy is the author of a number of books, including "The Liberty of the Press," "Some Phases of the Hawaiian Question" and "The Capture of Aguinaldo."

HENRY A. BEERS

has been Professor of English Literature in Yale University since 1880. Among the important books he has written are "A Century of American Literature," "Nathaniel Parker Willis," "From Chaucer to Tennyson," "Initial Studies in American Letters," "A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century," and "A History of English Romanticism in the Nineteenth Century."

J. WALTER LORD,

a member of the Maryland bar, was educated at Princeton University and studied law at the Harvard Law School. He occupied a position in the Legal Department of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company until 1901, when he became associated with a law firm of which the late John K.

Cowen became a member on his retirement from the Presidency of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company. For some time past, Mr. Lord has been the counsel of the Consolidation, Fairmont and Somerset Coal Companies; and, in the course of his professional duties, he has had occasion to study the legal phases of railroad regulation.

W. P. Livingstone,

a native of Scotland, was for over ten years the editor of "The Daily Gleaner," in Kingston, Jamaica, and afterwards the West-Indian and Spanish-American correspondent of the London "Times," in which capacity he travelled extensively, his more recent journeys including one through Haiti and Santo Domingo. He has made a special study of the West-Indian and American negro. He is the author of a work entitled "Black Jamaica," a narrative of racial evolution.

Maurice Low,

a native of London, England, was educated at King's College, London, and in Austria. He has made a special study of foreign politics, and has contributed a great number of articles on that and other subjects to American and English periodicals. Mr. Low is correspondent in Washington for the Boston "Globe" and the London "Morning Post."

Louise Collier Willcox

was born in Chicago. She is the daughter of a Unitarian minister, and was educated in France, Germany and England. Later, she studied for two years at the Conservatory of Leipzig, and for two years in Birmingham, England. She has lived in Virginia since 1887, and has been a contributor to "East and West," "The Chap-Book," "The Century," "The Outlook," "Poet-Lore," "The Times-Democrat" of New Orleans, "The Boston Transcript" and "The Evening Post" of New York. For several years, she has been a reader and adviser of one of the leading publishing houses, and has regularly contributed editorials to "Harper's Weekly."

Edward Porritt

is a native of Bury in Lancashire, England. For several years he was connected with a number of English papers. In

1884, he came to the United States and joined the staff of the St. Louis "Globe Democrat." Returning to England, he was employed for some time as a parliamentary reporter. He now resides in the United States as correspondent for important British newspapers. He writes besides for a large range of American periodicals. In 1893, he published "The Englishman at Home," an account of English government and institutions. In 1901, he finished "The History of the Unreformed House of Commons," which was published in two volumes by the University Press of Cambridge.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

No. DCXIX.

JULY 19, 1907.

THE WRONG OF THE GREAT SURPLUS.

BY ELLIS H. ROBERTS, LL.D.

HAS any one a mind to boast that the income of the United States Government for the fiscal year just closed was nearly ninety million dollars more than the outgo? The preliminary figures of the Treasury are $86,929,425, which experts reckon will be raised to the larger sum by complete returns. This is surely immense, over 13 per cent. of the total revenue. The net receipts of the Government before the Civil War were at the greatest $74,056,697 in 1856, and were only $51,987,455 in 1861, or 58 per cent. of the present excess. The war of the Revolution cost the young Republic in specie $135,000,000, which sum the collections above the expenditures will exceed at present rates before the calendar shall record 1908. The second war with Great Britain involved the outlay of $102,993,153, or the equal of the current surplus for fourteen months. The cost of the Mexican War was $125,447,483, which would be covered by the excess of revenue before December next. The expenses of the war with Spain, which were $130,000,000, would be offset by the surplus of fifteen months.

We magnify the burdens which foreign armies bring on their peoples; yet the charge to Italy for its army in 1905 was $66,000,000 or 75 per cent. of the American surplus last year. France pays annually for its army $148,000,000, Great Britain

Copyright, 1907, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY All Rights Reserved

$150,000,000, and Germany $176,000,000. These sums are spent at home for service, commissariat and arms. Our surplus may be compared with them in amount, but in no other respect, for it buys nothing and pays nobody.

Collections in excess of expenditures have become the rule in this country. Aside from 1904 when $50,000,000 was disbursed on account of the Panama Canal, a deficit has occurred in only one year since this century began, and that was $23,004,728 in 1905. The net surplus since 1900 mounts up to the enormous sum of $274,196,949, although within that period large reductions were made in internal revenue.

The end is not yet. The surplus, so large in the fiscal year just closed, continues. The growth of population keeps up and carries with it larger revenues to the Government. In June, the collections and the surplus are on the heaviest scale, showing an excess of $21,878,462, but that is always an exceptional month. In the fiscal year 1908, the receipts promise to outrun the outlay by $120,000,000. Secretary Shaw's estimate in his annual report was for a surplus of $58,000,000 in 1907; it is $32,000,000 more. In the coming months, the elasticity will not be less and will be adequate to offset any changes likely to occur. A falling off in business would be without parallel which should reduce the revenues by 13 per cent. for a year; so that the present surplus can be cancelled only by law. The excess is more likely to increase in volume and in force.

This magnitude is the phenomenon of American finance, a real monster eating into the earnings and savings of the producing millions. What excuse can be presented for such hoards? There is no public use to which they can be put. Congress has been liberal in its appropriations, to which these large collections have added. The nation neither courts nor dreads a foreign war. No debt looms up to be provided for. The national obligations bearing interest which before the Spanish war were $847,867,400 are, on the first of the present month, $894,834,280. The four-per-cents. due this month have been taken out of the way by extension into two-per-cents, and the provision for paying $36,121,450 in cash on the turn of the year. The Government has the option to pay the fragment remaining of the Spanish war loan next year, but, doubtless, the entire $63,495,000 outstanding will be required for exchange into two-per-cents. to

serve as a basis for bank-notes. Only by that process can additional securities become available for that purpose. In 1906, Secretary Shaw sold $30,000,000 of Panama bonds to encourage the increase of bank circulation. Until the three-per-cents. are transferred into twos, that plea will not lead an overflowing Treasury to add to the interest charge by gratuitous borrowing. The long fours are too high for purchase by the department, while the creditors of the nation do not want their bonds not due to be taken up.

The rapid reductions in the public debt from 1870 to 1873 were helpful to the national credit, and gave strength to the financial situation. Such action now is neither practicable nor desirable. The effort to provide gold for specie resumption in 1879 was noble, and its success was due to generous revenue as well as to loans. The vast hoards of the precious metals now in the Government vaults are abundant for every demand, and there is even embarrassment of riches. The Treasury has become a sturdy giant engrossing the money of the citizens.

The excessive receipts congest the Treasury and breed strife on the part of the banks to get them as deposits. Public funds in national banks, which were $94,481,697 on June 30, 1906, mounted up to $182,412,808 at the close of last month, held by 1250 institutions. The smaller banks involve much labor in accounts, so a commission is proposed to frame a new plan of distribution, and it is even suggested that the beneficiaries shall be confined to the forty reserve cities or to a central recipient. Meanwhile, the Treasury held a year ago over current liabilities a balance of $76,289,224, while now its holdings are $78,585,126, proving that practically the entire surplus has gone into the banks.

Experts reckon $50,000,000 as a proper balance for current cash, and that surely is quite enough. Then the Treasury carries, itself, $28,585,000 above all needs. In Government vaults and in national banks, therefore, lies idle of public funds the monstrous sum of $211,000,000, earning no interest and serving no purpose at all. The claim is urged that public deposits in banks really go back into the channels of business. Treasury officials are high-priced messengers to transfer the people's cash to the banks. Those who pay can better deposit to their own credit, subject to draft at their own pleasure.

At a bankers' State convention, two or three weeks ago, a general panic was predicted unless the revenues, as a whole, should be paid directly to the banks instead of passing through the Treasury as now. The argument is that business cannot afford to have its life-blood drawn away. Far more obvious is it that the people should keep their own money, and the Government extort the least possible amount. In that course is the surest guarantee of safety, the chief bulwark of protection. Probably, disaster, whenever it shall come, will be local and transient, and in single classes, not covering the continent or all consumption and commerce. The ninety or a hundred million dollars a year kept busy by the citizens will bear richer and better fruit than if piled up in banks or Treasury.

No financier, no statesman, would include in a scientific system such a drain from the community without definite object. With prudence and foresight, generous, even lavish, appropriations have been voted; rivers and harbors are improved; public buildings are erected in many cities; far-reaching schemes of irrigation are carried forward; the Isthmian Canal enlists attention; the payment to us of the large indemnity from China is waived; the munificence of the Government has hardly a limit. Is it not high time to heed the concerns of the individual citizen, and let him keep as much as may be of his wages and property?

The defence may be that no such surplus was intended, and that the revenues have gone far beyond calculation. Grant whatever force the plea deserves, and admit that committees and Congress and officials are bound to lean to the side of prudence. The facts are the indictment, and caution may run into folly. The excess of receipts above outgo has been constant, has asserted itself every month, has climbed before the eyes of men as the sun rises from the horizon to the zenith. The question why the surplus has been suffered to attain such huge proportions may pass without answer, as if "it happened so." The pressing inquiry is, Shall it go on into more scores of millions, and what shall be done about it?

In 1836, the revenues outran the expenditures, and Congress, unwilling to enter on broad public improvements, voted to distribute the surplus above $5,000,000 between the States as a loan. The return was to be in four instalments. Three were

paid, but the fourth, under order of Congress, was never collected, but stands against the twenty-six debtor States on the Treasurer's books as unavailable funds, $28,101,644. When at later periods collections were in excess of needs, bonds could be bought and the national debt reduced. Now financiers can devise no plan other than to turn the money into the banks, while the proposal to charge interest falls to the ground. The boldest would hardly dare to advocate in words that the Government should collect revenue for the people just to deposit in the banks. The practice seems to daze no one, but all accept it as commonplace finance.

The national Treasury should not be left bare, nor be placed where it should be forced, as in 1893, to borrow at exorbitant rates to maintain the public credit. An ideal system would show always a small balance above current liabilities. Provision may wisely be made against contingent claims and possible perils. It was fortunate that in 1898 funds were at once available to prepare for war, yet bonds were quickly sold for additional resources. In case the Panama Canal is to be built without further loans, that yearly outlay is to be reckoned, as it is in fact included—$27,196,672—in the expenditures for the twelve months just ended. Other public works and the expenses of the modern navy are not to be omitted. But the limits beyond which it is hardly less than criminal to extort collections from industry and thrift, are plain as our grand mountain ranges.

The country is in distress from lack of capital. Provision must soon be made as usual for moving crops, and stringency is always created at that season. Should the Government, in careless greed, drain the resources on which farmer and trader depend to carry food from the harvest-field to market? The superfluous dollar collected for the Treasury taxes grievously the staff of life. Investors do not now buy bonds of the sort for which they were eager a while ago. A leading banking-house states that, since the first of January last, railroad securities to the amount of $1,100,000,000 have been authorized. Other corporations are borrowers or seek to increase their capital. Municipalities feel the monetary pressure; even New York City fails to sell more than $2,500,000 of $29,000,000 bonds offered to investors who hold off for higher interest. The State

of New York has to remit the tax on its bonds for the barge canal to tempt banks to buy them. The National Government, in its overflowing wealth, saps the resources of the country with jaunty nonchalance, and draws a hundred million dollars a year above its needs, thus crippling the machinery of enterprise and development. In the hands of the people, this money can be set to work, can earn dividends, can multiply itself. The year's surplus is an immense capital even in these days of prodigious operations. Why divert it from the channels where it might irrigate the dry and thirsty land?

No theory of revenue is involved in this matter. The champion of a tariff for revenue only cannot excuse collections beyond current needs. The free-trader must denounce as iniquitous imposts not imperatively required. The protectionist must regard excessive revenues as hostile to his policy. He who deems that the best government is that which governs least must favor the lightest burdens. The man who believes in a liberal paternalism must consider the citizen and oppose waste and extortion. The scientific economist aims at an equilibrium between income and expenses, so far as the fluctuations of business will permit.

In no other nation is such a condition as prevails here conceivable. The current expenditures elsewhere are all that can be borne and public debts roll up. Only the prosperity with which Americans have so long been blessed renders it endurable here. Taxes, however necessary, are a handicap to production and trade. They may make the difference between profit and loss, and reduction in them may serve as a premium to enterprise or as encouragement when clouds arise and as a help over hard places. A useless surplus may become dangerous as well as offensive. The citizen who gladly pays all that the Government really needs, will resent extortionate charges. Sooner or later, he will scrutinize the imposts and draw the line between what is just and what is unjust. He is easily content, but he can be roused to protest and anger.

The idle funds now in vault and bank are nearly or quite twice the cost of any war with a foreign nation in which the United States has ever been engaged. Nerves must be excitable indeed which desire any increase even for a war-chest for emergency. Yet search here and there is made for kinds of taxes not now on the national schedules. If more revenue were needed,

that might be a task worthy of a statesman. Or for academic diversion, the question of substituting an income tax or imposts on inherited estates for customs duties and charges on liquors and tobacco, may deserve discussion. Just now, however, much more gracious is the privilege to devise methods for leaving their capital to fructify in the pockets of the people.

The credit or the blame for the enormous surplus belongs to Congress, not to the Executive Departments, although the Treasury might win honor by exposing the grievance. The House of Representatives originates revenue laws, and adjusts the receipts to the expenditures. Business conditions affect the income, and it is the part of legislators to calculate the proceeds of customs and internal taxes. These, as a rule, always advance unless the statutes are changed. Recessions are temporary and are soon overcome. A proposal to raise the expenditures to the level of the present receipts, just to get rid of the balance, would be little less than treason. Yet the natural tendency is strong to spend what is within reach. More and more it is felt that excessive Government collections enter into the cost of living, lift prices, bear down on every industry, and are a monument of spoil and ravin.

The majority in Congress is accountable for the wrong of the great surplus. The party in control is commended for maintaining the national credit, and it is chargeable for the burdens placed on the great constituency. The weight of those burdens is of more moment than how they shall be carried. The wise legislator will seek to lighten them. Years have been many when the problem was how to raise money enough to support the Government. That time is past. Now the duty is to check the flood which drowns the Treasury. The pessimist will give warning that by general disaster the revenues may be greatly reduced. Surely, the idle funds now hoarded will be adequate to meet any such emergency for a long period. Meanwhile, one aid to prevent mishap will be to let the producer keep his money for use and draw from him for revenue as little as possible.

The Opposition in Congress is more than a body on parade; it is a partner in legislation. Is its duty not to bind the majority to its obligations, to hold down taxes, to compel the enactment of wise laws? Debate over theories is well enough.

Criticism of appropriations outside of one's own district or State is all right. But why let the collectors levy on all the country a hundred million dollars a year as useless to the nation as the extortions of the robbers of the Rhine or of Turkish pashas? The guilt in last analysis falls on Congress, both on majority and opposition.

The surplus is gathered from every shop and house. For the fiscal year just closed, it mulcted each person of the population as it began $1.04, and each family of four $4.16. These families could use these dollars on their own account as active capital, to turn a wheel, or pay for food or raiment or education.

Who is there who will stand up before his neighbors and declare that this huge surplus should be allowed to grow for a single month after Congress can act to stop it? The agreement seems to be general that the tariff is not to be revised until after the Presidential election, or a year and a half hence. This crying abuse of wasteful millions can be throttled without waiting for discussion and strife over schedules. The direct way is to cut it off.

Can it be denied that the excess of national revenues is monstrous in amount? No employment is found for it, nor can the piling up of deposits in national banks be defended as a permanent practice, the creation of a stagnant pool never to flow out. The increase of the present hoards is aggravating the evil. No excuse for such a surplus can be discerned in any signs or dangers in the future. The Government does not want the money, while the people do want it badly, for State, corporate, municipal and private purposes. Congress cannot too soon provide for an adjustment between income and outgo.

This can be done by any one of several methods. The simplest and most direct way is by a flat reduction on all present rates of revenue. Controversy that will cause delay must be postponed. Agree on the abolition of the surplus as the first thing to do. Accept the mandate of common sense to collect what is needed and no more. The timid may counsel holding on to a part of the excess. The wiser course will be to wipe it all out, for it will begin to grow again long before the existing hoards can be spent.

The suggestion is natural, to extend the free list by a score of millions or more. If a majority can be rallied for such a

measure, very well; but is that possible? Not a few will insist that tobacco, beer and spirits can easily afford to pay the tax now levied, and that the internal revenue should stand without change. Then objection will be urged that the customs duties should not alone bear the whole reduction, which would take off 37 per cent. from the schedules as they stand. Such diversities force practical legislation back to the plain plan of a uniform discount from all the present charges to an amount equal to the surplus of 1907.

That would be 13 per cent. on the total revenue. Such modification on the tariff and internal revenue combined could not be styled drastic or harmful, while the reduction, if cast on customs schedules alone, would be more radical than has been advocated by revisionists or champions of tariff reform. Under the general discount, the principle of protection would not be challenged.

Is there keen enough sense of the grievance to lead all sides to waive their extreme claims in order to bring relief? It might be desirable to extend the free list or to reduce some schedules more than others. Those who know the methods of Congress cannot expect that either of such schemes can command a majority in House or Senate, or, if at all, only after long contention. Persistence on those lines can only prevent any action. Commission or inquiry can make no clearer the grievous wrong of the surplus. Any theory which serves as buttress for that ought for the time to be set aside. After the yearly balance is brought to a normal, healthful sum, policies and rates, free list and schedules can command the stage.

Two years will elapse before any project of systematic revenue revision can become operative in the natural movement of legislation. Congress must decide whether, for all that period, the monstrous surplus shall draw blood from every vein of production, of consumption and of commerce. Constituents are patient, but, even when thriving and fat, they may kick, like Jeshurun. But higher motives than popular favor are in the scale. What ethical standard justifies the drain on the citizen? No financial defence can be set forth. The pretence is not advanced that the excessive collections are a fine or penalty on the community; for the citizens as a body cannot be subject to indictments. The receipts of the Treasury are pure revenue, and be-

yond the wants of the Government are tainted by exaction and rapacity.

A Tocqueville or a Holst or a Bryce who should inquire into our national finances would wonder at the continuous gathering of such a huge surplus. He might not be surprised at an excess of revenue for one or two years. He would marvel that it should be kept up until the hoards climb above $210,000,000. He would ask what apology the masters of finance can plead for such a congestion. He would regard the patience of the people who pay as proof of their wealth and patriotism, their faith in the rulers, and, doubtless, as neglect of their personal interests. That, too, will be the verdict of history, for time and distance create the same perspective. Do Americans refer to aliens or the future the decision of a vital matter of current finance? Taxation falls on their backs; collections are extorted from their pockets. They can judge fairly whether they cannot, better than any officials, manage funds which the Government has no use for. Are they so very rich that $100,000,000 a year is a trifle about which they do not trouble? They cannot be so foolish as not to know that so much capital can be put to more productive employment than to be locked in the cerements of the vaults of the Government or the banks. Possibly, like Gallio, they care for none of these things. The "Almighty Dollar," even counted by scores of millions, may not be worth picking up by them. Yet, in the long run, the American people are ruled by common sense and fair play. Congress will be wise to go forward and not tarry for popular clamor to compel the easing of burdens. Parties cannot hide the exigency. No mystery clouds the demand. The electors pay with alacrity what the Government actually needs; the rest of their resources belongs in their own control. They approve of liberal revenues, while they condemn an exorbitant surplus.

ELLIS H. ROBERTS.

which had subjective interest as records of historical personages or events, but little or no intrinsic art value. Very naturally, the interest waned, and between the years 1866 and 1879 all those things which had come into the possession of the Institution were deposited either in the Library of Congress, or in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, then lately established.

It was not strange, therefore, that when Mrs. Harriet Lane Johnston made her will, disposing of her collection of paintings, historical documents and so forth, she was in ignorance of the existence of a National Gallery, and so bequeathed them to the Corcoran Gallery, with the provision that, if such an institution should at any time be established by the United States, they should revert to it. Owing to certain other conditions with which it was impossible to comply, the Corcoran Gallery was obliged to decline the bequest.

It was this emergency which led President Roosevelt to include in his annual message to Congress, in December, 1904, the recommendation that "the collections of art contemplated in Section 5,586 of the Revised Statutes should be designated and established as a national gallery of art, and the Smithsonian Institution should be authorized to accept any additions to said collections that may be received by gift, bequest or devise"; and it was this, also, which opened the way to the discovery of the mislaid institution.

Mrs. Johnston's heirs were as averse to the dispersal of her collection as was the nation, but they had no legal right to interpret her will. Hence an amicable suit was entered in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and the quandary was settled on July 11th, 1906, by a decree which not only authorized the Smithsonian Institution to receive the gift, but gave legal standing to a National Gallery. In less than a month, the works of art, etc., composing the Harriet Lane Johnston collection were given into the custody of the Smithsonian Institution and temporarily placed on exhibition in the rooms set aside for the Secretary and regents.

Mrs. Johnston died in July, 1903; and, while the settlement of her estate was pending, Mr. Charles L. Freer, of Detroit, Michigan, made his splendid gift to the nation, placing in the hands of the regents of the Smithsonian Institution, on May 6th, 1906, a deed to his private collection of paintings, prints,

potteries and other art objects, valued at $600,000, and promising to bequeath to the Institution the sum of $500,000 for the construction of a fire-proof building in which to house it. This had no reference to a National Gallery, but it is probable, if not certain, that the discussions occasioned by Mr. Freer's original offer operated toward an awakening of interest on the part of those in authority and helped materially to quicken the solicitations of those outside. And in the end, though the Freer collection will be in a separate building, a unit in itself, it will not be isolated to such an extent that it may not be considered a part of the National Gallery. It was, in fact, the beginning; the first stride toward a distant goal. That Mr. Freer recognized the desirability of centralizing, at Washington, the forces which make for national culture is significant.

The American people are inherently generous. The majority of our public institutions are supported by private individuals, and even our Government collections have been built up by numerous small private gifts. No sooner, indeed, was it known that a National Gallery existed than offers were made of loans and gifts. But the first question to be met was that of adequate accommodations—a suitable gallery in which to house and place on exhibition the newly acquired works. Every available foot of space in both the Smithsonian and National Museum buildings was occupied, the cellars were full, the storehouses were overflowing, and the new building, with its nine and a half acres of floor space for the accommodation of exhibits, was far from completed. The Smithsonian Hall might well have answered, could it have been remodelled and made available, but there was no place in which to dispose its exhibits, and hence the lecture-hall of the National Museum was selected. This is a large and dignified room, and, under the expert direction of Mr. William H. Holmes, chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, who has acted as curator of the National Gallery, it was redecorated and adapted to gallery use. To be sure, it is poorly lit and in other respects far from ideal; but it alone was available, and its prompt utilization manifested on the part of the officers of the Smithsonian Institution a fixed determination not to allow the National Gallery project again to lapse.

Almost immediately after the Harriet Lane Johnston collection was arranged in this hall, the heirs of the late Lucius Tuckerman

offered to loan to the gallery, for not less than a year, the collection of paintings which he had assembled; and, shortly after this, Mr. Edward Kemeys, the distinguished animal sculptor, who died only last May, placed indefinitely at the disposal of the National Gallery, for exhibition purposes, a collection of his bronzes and original plaster casts, numbering more than fifty.

The Harriet Lane Johnston collection comprises sixteen paintings and as many other items, some of which have no special bearing upon the subject of art; such, for instance, as an autograph letter of Queen Victoria addressed to Mrs. Johnston's uncle, President Buchanan, during his term of office. The paintings are chiefly portraits. There is a likeness of "Miss Kirkpatrick," by Romney; one of "Mrs. Abington," by Hoppner; and one of "Mrs. Hammond," by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Sir Thomas Lawrence is represented by a painting of Lady Essex as "Juliet," and Sir William Beechy by a moderate-sized portrait of "Miss Murray." There is reason to believe that all are authentic, but none save the Romney is a specially important example. Aside from authorship, however, much interest attaches to a portrait of "Josepha Boegart," attributed to Pourbus, the younger, and to a painting of a "Madonna and Child," ascribed to Bernardine Luini. And, despite some blunt errors, a three-quarter-length portrait of King Edward VII, painted by Sir John Watson Gordon when, as Prince of Wales, His Majesty visited the United States, is one of the notable items in the catalogue. With, I think, but two exceptions—"A Street in India," by Edwin Lord Weeks, and "The Prince of Wales's visit to Mount Vernon," by Thomas R. Rossiter,—all the paintings in this collection are by foreign artists, so that, as a whole, it emphasizes especially the desirability of collecting this class of work; of bringing to America, and congregating in a national collection, the great works of the leading masters of all lands and times as examples and standards.

The Tuckerman loan collection was of the same type, covering merely a later period and indicating the trend of European art when, for a number of years, it usurped the rôle of the writer and devoted itself to narration, carrying at the same time the painter's craftsmanship to remarkable perfection.

It was, therefore, all the more interesting and important that the next addition to the National Gallery should have been the Kemeys collection, which turned the attention abruptly to Ameri-

can production and a diverse form of expression. Howsoever Mr. Kemeys's work may be regarded from the strict art standpoint, its strong, frank merit can never be denied, and for all time it must be reckoned among notable accomplishments. It breathes the spirit of genuine Americanism; it presents the wild life of the plains and reechoes the legend of the wilderness. While others were seeking classical ideals in the Old World, he was learning the secrets of the New, and with the true sculptor's instinct for plastic form was sympathetically interpreting the fauna of our land. When, a few years ago, an exhibition of American water-colors was held in London, an English critic declared, with evident disappointment, that none, save an Indian picture by Irving Couse, manifested "a truly American characteristic." Needless to say, this is not the kind of Americanism to which I make reference. We have pictures of Indians and cowboys galore, paintings of negroes and sky-scrapers in abundance, but we have few sincere interpretations of every-day themes which set forth the ideals, the potentialities and the hopes of our own great nation. For this reason Mr. Kemeys's work is the more significant, and the loan of so comprehensive a collection of it to the National Gallery so soon after its inception must be regarded as a felicitous circumstance.

But a great impetus was given to the new institution through another notable gift. In March, of the present year, Mr. William T. Evans, of New York, than whom none has done more to advance and encourage American art, went to Washington and offered to present to the National Gallery a collection of paintings by American artists of established reputation—an offer which was promptly and gratefully accepted. This collection consisted of fifty pictures, and was given with the understanding that if, later on, it was found that any of the number failed to uphold a properly high standard it should be replaced by a better example, in order that not only the collection itself but the representation should be as good as possible. Nothing, it would seem, could be more fair-minded or generous, and certainly no small collection could better stand for contemporary American painting. It is not faultless or complete, but it is a nucleus, and such an one as, in all probability, could have been acquired by the nation in no other way. There are, for instance, included in this collection, paintings by Inness, Wyant and Homer

Martin, which are now almost unobtainable, to say nothing of works by John LaFarge, Winslow Homer, Robert Blum and John H. Twachtman. Both the landscape and figure painters are represented, but the former with greater strength and comprehensiveness than the latter. Benjamin Constant said that Inness was the greatest landscape painter of his day; and, whether the statement may be taken at its face value or not, it is undoubtedly true that he and his contemporaries led the way to the noblest conception of landscape art that the world has ever known. Where, indeed, can we turn for truer or more sympathetic interpretations of the outdoor world than to the works of our modern American painters? They have not all seen it in the same way, nor interpreted it in the same manner; some are not poets or even good painters, but the majority of them are sincere and have independent conviction.

In the Evans National Gallery collection, which for lack of available space has been temporarily loaned to the Corcoran Gallery, there are landscapes by D. W. Tryon, J. Francis Murphy, Charles B. Davis, Henry Ranger, Charles Melville Dewey, Louis Paul Dessar, Ballard Williams and Albert Blakelock, J. Alden Weir and Robert Minor, as well as by the older men already mentioned. And, of the figure painters included in the catalogue, there are John W. Alexander, T. W. Dewing, John LaFarge, Walter Shirlaw, Louis Loeb, Sargeant Kendall, Charles C. Curran, J. Alden Weir and William T. Smedley—some of the strongest and best. From first to last, the collection has been well assembled and with a view to set forth not merely notable examples, but the work of those who have contributed something individually to the art of our land.

It has been said that we have no American school of art, but if this be so it is because we have many. In America art is passing through a formative period, and is to some extent experimental and immature; but, in spite of this, it is to-day the healthiest, most vigorous and promising art in the world. There are dangers and hindrances attending its development; feebleness in some of its members; occasional dissensions within; but the trend is onward and upward, the major tendencies being hopeful. Not merely patriotism, but common sense, therefore, dictates its encouragement, and applauds its inclusion in the permanent collection of the National Gallery. It was this belief which prompted Mr.

Evans's gift and has since induced others to make similar single contributions.

Thus it will be seen that, within a year, much has been done toward placing a National Gallery on a sure footing, but done, it will be noted, by private individuals. At no time, and in no definite way, has the Federal Government given official recognition to American art. Perhaps, in fact, I should say, to art, without qualification, for while appropriations have been made by Congress, from time to time, for the purchase of some single specific work, nothing is done toward the support of institutions, and rarely is encouragement lent by the employment of expert skill. The nearest approach to a token of any patronage of art given by the Government are the mural decorations in the Library of Congress, which were paid for out of a surplus appropriation at the minimum rate, but have, it must be confessed, exerted a potent and wide-spread influence.

America has a tremendous problem on her hands—that of social adjustment—and in no way can she solve it save through the medium of education. Until men and women learn to find pleasure in better things than mere money-getting, there will be no solution of labor troubles. Art which delights the eye and gratifies the senses is, therefore, not a luxury, but a necessity—a staff of every-day life. The public schools, through their art courses, are now doing much toward broadening visions, opening the children's eyes to that which is beautiful, cultivating their taste and giving them true standards. The museums also are reaching out in the same direction; and for the extension of art knowledge many organizations have been formed in all parts of the country. Not only, then, are the artists worthy of support, but the people are prepared to profit by the instruction which may be offered.

Governmental wheels turn slowly, but sometimes it is well that this is the case. Certainly, much care and thought must be given to the development of a National Art collection if it be made in every respect worthy. Together with the generous giver come those who have wares to sell, and discrimination must accompany the exercise of the purchase power. That this power may be unpolitical is demonstrated by the Library of Congress, which is now an independent institution and truly national in scope. Eighty years were required to evolve it, but

it is now one of the strongest factors in the nation's educational scheme, and its organization and administration illustrate the manner in which a National Gallery might be controlled and made effectual.

When the establishment of a National Gallery was first noised abroad, suggestions were made in many quarters concerning its probable character. Some persons thought that it should be restricted to American work, others that it should be exclusively a portrait gallery. The hope is, of course, that it may in time be all-inclusive, and embrace not only one, but every phase of the art of this and other lands. The suggestion that it should be a portrait gallery forming a pictorial directory of the great men of America strikes terror, however, to those interested in the success of the project who are acquainted with the official portrait galleries which are now included in every Government Department. Every Cabinet officer is represented in his Department by a portrait, painted by any artist whom his successor may select, and paid for by the nation. Some of these portraits, by chance, are good, and could fittingly be included in a National Art collection, but many are far from commendable or suitable for the purpose.

It has been said that the National Gallery would have to contend with the jealousies of other art institutions; but I believe that this supposition is incorrect and that, almost without exception, it will be found that the people in all sections are working for the common good. Certainly, when Mr. Evans's gift was announced, congratulations poured in not from individuals alone, but from sister institutions. The conviction that Washington should be the centre of national culture and learning is gaining ascendency. Much enthusiasm has been manifested in regard to the Park Commissioner's plans for the artistic development of the city, and more and more, as time passes, is evidence given of interest in their fulfilment. The Carnegie Institution, the American Institution of Architects and the American Academy at Rome, all have their headquarters there; and, with the Library of Congress, and the scientific bureaus of the Government, they are attracting to the National Capital students and scholars from all parts of the world. And, what is more, Washington is a residential rather than a commercial city; its environment is already artistic and its future character assured.

In the Corcoran Gallery, last winter, a notable exhibition of contemporary American paintings was held—the best probably which has yet been set forth—and during the four weeks it was open it was visited by over sixty-two thousand persons. The average attendance at the Corcoran Gallery has been about four hundred thousand a year; but, upon special occasions, as many as five thousand have been admitted in an afternoon. This at least suggests the fallowness of the field.

"Why," it has been asked, "with the Corcoran Gallery, is there need for a National Gallery?" Because, the answer is, the Corcoran Gallery is a privately endowed institution, with an independent organization and comparatively limited means. Established and endowed by the late William Wilson Corcoran, it is governed by a board of trustees whose term of office is for life and who are obliged to perpetuate, by elections, their own number. The Corcoran Gallery has, however, stood in the place of a National Gallery for many years, and if eventually, by some arrangement, it can be made a part of the larger organization, keeping its own independence, it will indeed be well.

That is, of course, looking far ahead. For the present, no radical or definite plans have been made. That other broad-minded art patrons and collectors will follow, in time, the example of both Mr. Freer and Mr. Evans seems more than probable, and that artists themselves will aid in the upbuilding of the collections there is reason to believe. The National Museum has already certain collections of ceramics and exhibits in the industrial arts, which may be reckoned as a part of the National Gallery, and it is earnestly hoped that in the near future further development may be made along these lines.

The great and first need is a building—one which will adequately and appropriately afford a home for the institution, and allow in its plan for continued growth. Undoubtedly, an appropriation for this purpose will be asked of Congress at its next session; and, though it is possible that, in pursuance of what has been characterized as its "extravagant policy of economy," the request may be refused, it would seem more logical to believe that, with evidence of so much outside interest and enthusiasm, the national support will be forthcoming.

LEILA MECHLIN.

THE VAGRANT AND THE RAILROAD.

BY ORLANDO F. LEWIS.

SEVERAL months ago, the presidents of many representative American railroads were asked if vagrancy on their roads is a serious question. The responses, often in significant detail, from a half-hundred railroads, representing more than half the total mileage of the United States, show that almost without exception they look upon vagrancy as presenting an important social and economic problem.

Specific Instances.

"SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA, *June 3, 1907.*

"An attempt to wreck the early-morning Southern Pacific train between this city and San Francisco was thwarted to-day by the discovery of a large pile of ties on the track near Santa Clara. Two tramps have been arrested on suspicion. This is the third attempt to wreck a Southern Pacific train within a few weeks."—"*The Sun,*" *New York, June 4, 1907.*

How does the Southern Pacific try to guard against such crimes? The General Manager of the Pacific System reports that "there are in the employ of the Southern Pacific Company, on the Northern District, about 100 policemen, about seventy-five per cent. of whom are located at or adjacent to San Francisco and Oakland, and upon the Southern Pacific ferry-boats in San Francisco Bay, the remainder being distributed along the line in the interior. Constables arrest a large number of these tramps, who are sent to the county jail for from five days to six months, according to the crime."

On April 22, 1907, the following record of an application for charitable assistance was made at the Joint Application Bureau, in the Charities Building, New York City:

"—— had his left ankle broken last August, while stealing a ride on the railroad; was taken to the Memorial Hospital, Oneonta, and later transferred to the county house, where he remained five months; sent then by county authorities as far as Albany, and stole a ride from there to New York on a freight-train. He claims that his left ankle was improperly set; limps, and walks with a cane; asks aid."

How does the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad try to diminish vagrancy? The Assistant General Superintendent replies: "About thirty per cent. of all our police-department work is in connection with vagrants; they ride freight and passenger trains; annoy train crews and other employees; break and enter cars and stations and steal therefrom; they interfere with signals, place obstructions on tracks and stone trains." New York Central lines farther west report that it seems impossible to keep vagrants off freight-trains.

The Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac is but a short Southern line, eighty-eight miles long. The President's Office reports:

"On May 23, 1904, two colored men, about twenty-one years old, threw several sticks of wood under a passing freight-train, one of which lodged in point of switch; but, fortunately, no damage was done to the train. Guilty parties sentenced to jail for six months.

"On May 21, 1905, a switch to a loading track was tampered with, in that spikes were drawn, the lock removed and the switch-point left open about one-half inch. Investigation failed to discover the guilty parties.

"On November 22, 1906, two boys, ten and thirteen years old, fastened iron upon the rail with the intention of wrecking a train. One of the boys was sent to a reformatory indefinitely, subject to prison regulations."

What do railroads think about such train-wrecking attempts? President Underwood of the Erie writes that "any one found upon the tracks of a railroad company, without due license, should be a marked individual, or the perpetration of the recent Pennsylvania outrages may become too common for the interests of the American public, in whose behalf this recommendation is made."

Vagrancy a National Problem.—The West, East and South suffer; in our northeastern States tramps are reported scarce, because, as President Cram of the Bangor and Aroostook Rail-

road writes, "from November until April, inclusive, our climatic conditions do not invite their wanderings." In Massachusetts, recent drastic tramp laws have resulted in a material reduction of vagrants. In Texas, emergency laws passed when Coxey's Industrial Army "took the road" have given railroads comparative freedom from vagrancy. In general, however, it is unfortunately safe to say that vagrancy exists throughout the United States.

Tramps and Vagrants.—"The Sun's" telegram of June 4, 1907, says that "two tramps have been arrested on suspicion." By the laws of some States, if the arrested destitute person has a settlement in a community he is a vagrant; if he comes from "somewhere else," he is a tramp. In these days of rapid transit, this is largely a distinction without a difference.

The word "tramp" does not always connote "pedestrian." It is probable that American tramps, in our land of glorious distances, are not lusty walkers. The Supervisor of the Wayfarers' Lodge in Philadelphia, a temporary shelter with work-test for homeless men, estimates that:

"Many vagrants spend approximately one-third of their time in almshouses, one-third in houses of correction on sentences of three months or less and one-third in cheap lodging-houses; they live nearly all the time, wherever they are, more or less on charity or at the expense of the community. Many travel more than millionaires, usually on freight-trains, seldom walking."

On the Big Four Lines, some town authorities warn vagrants not to get off the trains, but to keep moving. On the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, some town officers even put tramps upon passing freight-trains to facilitate their departure. On the Denver and Rio Grande, vagrants, when caught on freight-trains, frequently claim that they were allowed to board the train by train employees for a "consideration." On one road the tramp-tariff for riding over a whole division seems to be fifty cents.

Arrests.—"Two tramps have been arrested on suspicion." A simple arrest does not ordinarily strike terror. Sometimes arrested vagrants must be discharged for want of proof; generally, however, for lack of cooperation between town authorities and railroad officers. The treatment of trespassing vagrants is a constant matter of contention between towns and railroads. Towns,

which frequently have no love for a railroad, insist that a vagrant, coming from nowhere and travelling on, has no claim upon the charity of a community. The town "moves them on," or at the most commits them for a short period to jail on a sentence that includes little if any labor. President James J. Hill of the Great Northern writes: "It is the almost universal custom for justices to order vagrants to leave town within twenty-four hours. When all neighborhoods are doing the same thing, the community receives exactly as much refuse as it gets rid of." This regrettable lack of cooperation will naturally continue, in small communities at least, until the expense of prosecution and maintenance of vagrants is made a State charge.

Sentences and Imprisonments.—Vagrancy, being a misdemeanor, with a kind of "blanket" definition that groups many human "odds and ends," results in short sentences, which have little or no deterrent or reformative effect. The Syracuse Charity Organization Society reports that the county penitentiary is a kind of winter vacation resort for tramps; the constable to whom the vagrants deliver themselves up in the fall fees them when they go out in the spring. In Easton, Pennsylvania, only ten per cent. of the prisoners are allowed to do any work at all. The Minneapolis Associated Charities reports that "the county jail has absolutely no provision for employing prisoners, some of whom remain six months or even longer." Probably much of the work required of short-term prisoners in jails and workhouses is largely "on paper."

Even short sentences are apt to be curtailed. Sixty-five per cent. of all the prisoners discharged in 1904 from the Philadelphia House of Correction served only half their time; fifty-seven per cent. had been previously committed to that institution; nearly nine per cent. had been there already *twenty or more times;* five persons *eighty or more times.* Aside from the striking social injustice of such "correctional" treatment, how inevitably do these facts suggest indeterminate sentences of cumulative length, hard labor during imprisonment, and compulsory farm colonies for vagrants!

Railroad Policing.—Few American railroads maintain systematic railroad policing, principally perhaps because the railroads that are trunk lines for tramps despair of diminishing the num-

bers during the present lack of good cooperation with towns; railroads which have comparatively little trouble believe they do not need railroad police. Despite the semi-military police force of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the 900 vagrants arrested on that road in 1906 for trespassing were but a small part of the vagrants constantly passing over the road. Mr. James J. Hill writes:

"Hundreds of idle men infest empty cars on the Great Northern during the summer months. Tramps attempt to secrete themselves on every freight-train at any risk. A considerable number of these are killed or injured each year. They get on or off trains while in motion, and some suffer in life and limb. Others fall off when asleep. It would be difficult to gather reliable statistics on this point, because a large percentage of the tramps reported as killed on the railroads are really murdered. Men returning from the harvest fields with their wages are killed for their money by their more vicious and criminal fellows, the body is flung from the train while in motion and the reported death by railroad casualty is actually a case of homicide."

Injuries and Deaths.—To the expense of maintaining a railroad police force must be added the costs to railroads attendant upon the injuries or deaths of trespassing vagrants. Vice-President Van Etten of the Boston and Albany Railroad says there is danger of serious accident whenever an air-brake is suddenly applied in emergencies, which is what an engineer will do when he sees a man on the track who is likely to be run over. A vagrant injured by a railroad seems to be decidedly "*persona non grata*" to towns. According to President Murray of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad,

"Cooperation in the case of injured vagrants is on the basis of the road doing all, if it can be brought about; if not, there is burial in the Potter's Field, or a bed in the charity ward of a hospital. Through its regular corps of physicians and surgeons, the necessary immediate attention is given to injured vagrants; hospital treatment is not withheld because of expense to the corporation. A similar practice is followed with the dead."

Both the Chicago and Northwestern and the Erie estimate that injuries and deaths of vagrants cost the road several thousand dollars annually. The following table gives the number of *killed and injured,* from 1901 to 1905, under the three classes of trespassers, passengers and employees:

	Killed.	Injured.	Total.
Trespassers	23,964	25,236	49,200
Passengers	1,960	39,470	41,430
Employees	16,243	286,047	302,290

The annual statistics of deaths and injuries sustained by vagrants on American railroads furnish gruesome reading. The number of trespassers killed annually on American railroads exceeds the combined totals of passengers and trainmen killed annually. Several railroads estimate that from one-half to three-fourths of such trespassers are vagrants. Nor do these annual totals show signs of decreasing.

It is impossible to estimate how many vagrants use the railroads. If vagrants, beating their way on railroads, are killed as frequently as are trainmen in proportion to the number travelling, over a half-million vagrants ride yearly on American railroads, or use the right-of-way. In the above table, fewer injuries to vagrants are recorded than those sustained by passengers and employees, but undoubtedly many vagrants are hurt whose injuries are not so severe as to prevent them from eluding town and railroad police.

The Cost to Society.—In the second instance cited at the beginning of this article, it was stated that "—— had his left ankle broken last August while stealing a ride on the railroad; was taken to the Memorial Hospital, Oneonta, and later transferred to the county house, where he remained five months." The cumulative cost to society from injured vagrants is enormous. Because many of the charitable contributions are indirect, frequently in the form of individual almsgiving at kitchen door or on the street, the outlay does not attract conspicuous attention. The temptation felt to help by small donations the "victims of circumstances" renders crippled vagrancy often more profitable than able-bodied vagrancy.

Almshouses.—Throughout our land, almshouses tend to shelter vagrants, unless the town lockup or the city police-station gives them inadequate lodgings overnight, generally without requiring compensatory work. Common humanity requires that human beings, however disreputable, be housed and fed somewhere. In consequence, almshouses, destined primarily for the industrially unfit and the aged, and those made poor by misfortune, become far too frequently "catch-alls" for harboring tramps, who mingle with those for whom the almshouses are specially maintained.

The naïve confidence felt by some wayfarers that society will take care of them, "whether or no," would be refreshing if it

were not significant of the price society pays for its own tolerance of the manufacture and perpetuation of vagrants. On November 20, 1906, a wanderer, fifty-eight years of age, of whom the following record was made, applied for aid at the Joint Application Bureau.

"He stated that he had been in the city about a week this time, having walked from Washington, D. C., since last April. He peddles shoelaces and collar-buttons, and was arrested and sent to Harts Island Workhouse for ten days because he was thought to be begging. The man spent last winter in Washington, where he says he was locked up for six months in the workhouse for being intoxicated. Before going to Washington the man spent about five years in Philadelphia, where he was well known at the almshouse, having been there four or five times. He lost his arm through jumping from a moving freight-train ten years ago. The man's desire to go to Maine is based on his belief that he will be admitted to the almshouse there, having been refused admission to the almshouse here, which he would just as willingly enter as any other poorhouse, but he knows some people in Maine. He says, if he were fitted out with clothes, he would walk to Maine. He has no stock left."

Dangerous Vagrants.—Irresponsible tramps not only commit depredations upon property, but expose human lives to danger and death. As cited above, vagrants interfere with signals on the New York Central Railroad, place obstructions on tracks and stone trains. On the Chicago and Northwestern, the tracks are lined with vagrants who refuse to leave the cars. Frequently, train crews are assaulted by these vagrants. A number of suits have been successfully brought against the Illinois Central by trespassers, who claim that they were pushed or kicked from the train while in motion, thus sustaining injuries through the illegal acts of trainmen. The conviction of an ejected vagrant depends upon the testimony of the trainmen; their presence at court for this purpose would involve a change of crews, loss of time and no little expense. Therefore, many prosecutions are dropped.

On the Norfolk and Western Railroad, train employees have been killed or injured by assaults from trespassing vagrants. On the Cumberland Valley Railroad, vagrants occasionally give outlying telegraphers some annoyance, which at train-time might lead to serious accident.

Laws.—Present railway trespass laws are often inadequate.

The Michigan Central reports a railway trespass law in Michigan with no penalty attached. The Lehigh Valley reports that there is legislation in the States through which its lines run, punishing tramps; but there is nothing specially applicable to the prohibition of illegal train-riding in the laws of New York, New Jersey or Pennsylvania.

Mr. E. A. Handy, General Manager of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, endeavored unsuccessfully, in 1904, to secure in several States the enactment of laws prohibiting trespassing on the right-of-way and tracks of railroad companies. Assistant General-Superintendent Crowley of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad says that a more severe law against trespassing might have some effect; but he would doubt very much the possibility of obtaining any law that would inflict a severe penalty for what in the minds of most people is no offence at all. The Boston and Albany Railroad recommends that laws follow the English practice. All trespassing on railroad property should be absolutely forbidden; it should be the duty of law officers to police the tracks, and arrest everybody found trespassing thereon.

A Proposed Trespass Law.—The following draft of a proposed railway trespass law is intended to combine the essential features of the present Massachusetts law with those of drafts suggested by the New York Central Lines and the Wabash Railroad:

"Be it enacted, etc.:

"Section I. Whoever, without legal right, walks on or stands on or crosses a railway track or right-of-way, except where the same crosses station-grounds or a highway (is guilty of a misdemeanor), shall forfeit not less than $5 nor more than $50, and may be further punished by imprisonment for not more than sixty days at hard labor.

"Section II. Whoever, without legal right, attempts to enter or enters or is on or upon any railway rolling-stock in motion or stationary, except for the affirmatively proved *bona fide* purpose of transacting lawful business with the company having custody of such rolling-stock (is guilty of a misdemeanor), shall forfeit not less than $10 nor more than $100, and may be further punished by imprisonment for not more than 120 days at hard labor.

"Section III. Upon view of the offence, any person lawfully authorized to make arrests may, without warrant, [and shall] arrest all persons offending against the provisions of either of the foregoing sections."

Remedies.—The principal recommendations made by the rail-

roads are: (1) greater cooperation between towns and railroads in prosecuting and convicting vagrants; (2) imprisonment of convicted vagrants at hard labor for considerable periods; (3) enforcement of trespass laws when adequate; (4) the strengthening of inadequate trespass laws; (5) the adoption of trespass laws, where none exist; (6) national vagrancy laws, if necessary and possible; (7) costs of prosecution and maintenance of vagrants to be made a State charge; (8) refusal by individuals of "kitchen-door aid" to vagrants; (9) a study of the success of Canada and European countries in prohibiting railroad vagrancy.

Massachusetts has a State police official known as a "tramp officer." Police work in each State should be carried on vigorously against vagrants by four cooperating agencies: (1) railroad police; (2) special State police officers; (3) town police; (4) special mendicancy police officers in large cities.

The treatment of vagrancy for the present should be deterrent. We do not know at all how many unnecessary vagrants we have. England, with an army of the unemployed, has in the vagrant class only three per cent. of honest unemployed workmen seeking work, according to recent authoritative opinions.

At present there seems in general no such dearth of employment as would force out upon the road the man who is willing to work. The love of change, the roving spirit, temporary accident or injury, are causes that tend to make the workman an accidental vagrant, who is liable to acquire an intention *not* to work, and become thus an habitual vagrant. The comparative ease with which the penniless man can beat his way on railroad, at farmhouse door or on the city streets explains in large measure "why vagrants are."

Our chief effort at present should be to diminish vagrancy by better laws, stricter enforcement of laws and deterrent examples of long-term, indeterminate sentences. This procedure is not uncharitable, but rather, in a real sense, humane. We should withdraw from the vagrant the easy chance to maim himself on freight-cars. He should not be allowed to become unsocial by voluntarily shirking work, that besides earning for him his daily bread brings him in honest touch with his fellow man. He should no longer be allowed to crawl away into foul-smelling, vermin-infested ten-cent lodging-houses in our large cities, where the three "D's" of Dirt, Disease and Demoralization forecast

a fourth "D," Death. We should not permit ourselves, by petty gifts upon the street, to purchase gratification at the price of fostering idleness and mendicancy in the vagrant. We should not permit the tramp to use our parks as dormitories, after being pauperized by indiscriminate and inadequate "midnight breadlines" or other curbstone charities.

In short, the able-bodied vagrant should be turned by law, and by the practice of individuals, toward work. In cities, municipal lodging-houses should provide clean, respectable, temporary shelters for the homeless, requiring registration, compulsory bathing and fumigation of clothing, giving food and lodgings, and requiring in return a reasonable amount of work. In towns lodging vagrants, there should be provided for them a separate house; or, if they are lodged at the almshouse, separate and distinct quarters.

In cities troubled with vagrants, there should be at least one special mendicancy officer, in plain clothes, whose entire work it should be to reform or prosecute beggars. Departments of Health should prescribe adequate rules governing the maintenance and supervision of common lodging-houses. Charitable bodies maintaining lodging-houses should make them models of their class, and missions that give food and lodging to destitute men should require, except in special cases, a reasonable amount of work.

We need two new State institutions. The first is a compulsory labor colony in each State, to which habitual vagrants may be committed to rigorous labor, preferably agricultural, for an indeterminate sentence. We need in each State at least one hospital for curable inebriates. Every charitable society knows to what extent the curable cases of inebriety demand an extended free treatment, that at present is impossible except in two States, or except to persons with means sufficient to purchase private care at a private "cure."

But, principally, we need a better public appreciation of the seriousness and the prevalence of vagrancy. Better public knowledge should be followed by better cooperation between towns, railroads, charitable societies, the press and private individuals, all working to diminish the unnecessary wandering of homeless men. The State should be the unit of activity against vagrancy. Local organizations or communities can at their best be rigorous

only within their limits of activity, and the vagrant wayfarer passes on to the next "easy" town. In such cooperation, the State Board of Charities or Control seems the natural body to take a guiding position. Misinformed sympathy for the vagrant must be overcome by well-grounded facts, which should clearly show that rigorous efforts to diminish vagrancy by consistent enforcement of law are beneficial not only to society, in reducing its toll to the injured and idle, but to the railroads, in diminishing thefts, injuries and accidents, and also to the vagrant, in impressing upon him the age-long lesson that "man shall earn his bread by the sweat of his brow."

ORLANDO F. LEWIS.

THE DRAGO DOCTRINE.*

BY CRAMMOND KENNEDY.

Is the forcible collection of contract debts in the interest of international justice and peace?

It has often happened that negotiations which have been commenced between two Governments for the settlement of the

* Mr. Crammond Kennedy's paper on this subject, which was read at the first annual meeting of The American Society of International Law, last April, in Washington, is divided into two parts. In the first part, he examines the diplomatic correspondence between the Venezuelan government and the governments of Great Britain, Germany and Italy, respectively, the communications which passed between those governments and the United States, and the protocols upon the execution of which the blockade of Venezuela's ports was raised and the question of priority of payment to the creditor nations was referred for determination to the Hague tribunal.

From this examination Mr. Kennedy comes to the following conclusions: (1) that the triple blockade was not instituted originally on account of any default in payment of Venezuela's public debt, principal or interest, but for the purpose of obtaining redress for wrongs and outrages inflicted by Venezuelans on the persons and property of the subjects of the blockading Powers, resident in Venezuelan territory, during internecine strife in that country; (2) that an opportunity for a settlement of these claims by impartial arbitration had been offered to Venezuela and had been rejected by her before the Powers resorted to force; (3) that Mr. Drago misconceived the character and purpose of the tripartite intervention, and that the so-called "Drago doctrine," which has been evolved from his note, embodies this misapprehension and obscures the real significance of the proceeding; and (4) that the Powers never intended to acquire or permanently occupy Venezuelan territory, and expressly disavowed any such purpose. These conclusions are supported by references to the official documents, including the finding of the Hague tribunal, "that since 1901 the government of Venezuela categorically refused to submit its disputes with Germany and Great Britain to arbitration, which was proposed several times, and especially by the note of the German government of July 16, 1901."

In the second part of his paper, which is printed below, Mr. Kennedy takes the ground that the opinions of publicists and the practice of governments favor the rule of non-intervention for the collection of contract debts, but that the international *right* to intervene is and must always be held in reserve, although, as a rule, it should not be exercised without affording a previous opportunity of settlement to the debtor government by impartial arbitration.—EDITOR N. A. R.

claims of the citizens or subjects of the one against the other for injuries to person or property have been extended so as to include claims arising on contract. But so averse have Governments been in practice, to make default in payment of the national debt a matter of diplomatic intervention that, even where the words "all claims" have been used in these arbitral conventions, it has been held that, unless expressly mentioned, claims arising upon public bonds were not within the jurisdiction of the arbitral tribunal and could not be considered. It was so held by Sir Frederick Bruce, as umpire of the United States and New Granadian Commission organized under the claims convention of September 10th, 1857; and also by the United States Commissioner (Wadsworth) and the Mexican Commissioner (Zamacona) under the claims convention of July 4th, 1868, between the United States and Mexico—although, in both cases, claims founded on the public debt had been referred to the Commission by the Secretary of State.

On that occasion, Mr. Commissioner Wadsworth said:

"Although the United States Government has assumed the responsibility of presenting here a claim for non-payment of overdue coupons on a portion of the recognized bonds of the Republic of the Government of Mexico, and demands an award, nevertheless it appears to me that neither Government has with sufficient clearness agreed to refer such claims to this commission, and it is my decision that this case be dismissed without prejudice to the rights of the holders of the bonds and coupons."

In his concurring opinion, Mr. Zamacona brought out one of the objections commonly urged against diplomatic intervention on behalf of such claims—as follows:

"The defence here maintains that claimants received bonds to the amount of $33,000. . . . Now, instead of $33,000, the claimants present $47,000 of bonds. It may very well be that they have obtained the difference, as they say they did, but it may also very well be that they may have received this additional sum of bonds from some holder who perhaps is not an American citizen. Accepting this as a diplomatic claim, when in the future claims have to be settled between Mexico and the United States, the whole of the debt of the former would be covered by the flag of the latter, whose citizens would appear as monopolizing Mexican bonds."*

* Moore's Arbs., Vol. IV, p. 3616. It was held, however, by the umpire of this Commission that it had no jurisdiction of *any* claims arising *ex contractu.*

The same view was taken by the mixed commission that sat at Caracas, under the claims convention of April 25th, 1866; and, accordingly, a claim for $558,150, of which about two-thirds was for interest, founded on bonds of the consolidable debt of Venezuela, was dismissed without prejudice; but, curiously enough, when, nearly a quarter of a century later, the awards of that Commission were reopened on account of alleged fraud on the part of the arbitrators, the new Commission, sitting at Washington in 1889-90, rejected the authority of the preceding decisions and gave an award to the claimants for the face of the bonds, counting the *peso* at 75 cents gold coin of the United States, with five per cent. interest *per annum,* from April 26th, 1853, to September 2nd, 1890. Elaborate opinions were given by all three Commissioners (Andrade dissenting), which are printed *in extenso* in the fourth volume of Moore's International Arbitrations.

It is to be especially observed, however, that in none of these opinions is the *right* of diplomatic intervention by the Government of the individual holders of foreign national bonds, on which default has been made, brought into question. Said Sir Frederick Bruce:

"The Government reserves to itself on special grounds the right to determine when and under what conditions such support shall be given, and this commission cannot assume, upon the strength of a general term, and in the absence of express language to that effect, that the government of the United States intended to delegate to it powers which it has not exercised itself in a matter of so much delicacy."

Commissioners Little and Findlay, of the United States and Venezuelan Commission of 1889-90, refer to Lord Palmerston's famous circular, and to Hall's remarks upon it in his International Law, Mr. Findlay saying:

"A claim is none the less a claim because it originates in contract instead of tort. The refusal to pay an honest claim is no less wrong because it happens to arise from an obligation to pay money instead of originating in violence offered to persons or property. Torts, as a rule, present more aggravated cases of injustice and affect the citizens at points which more loudly call for redress than ordinary breaches of contract, but, after all, the difference lies in degree only."*

Referring to Sir Frederick Bruce's observation that the policy

* United States and Venezuela Claims Commission, Opinions, 335.

of non-intervention had been pursued in such cases by the United States, Mr. Little said:

"Very true, bonds are not of the character of claims ordinarily pressed by one Government against another; but, since the celebrated circular of Lord Palmerston in 1848 to British representatives at foreign courts, it would appear to be the established English doctrine, at least that a State has the *right* authoritatively to interpose in behalf of its subjects or citizens in support and enforcement of claims founded on bonds against other states, if it chooses to do so. (Phillimore, Int. Law, Vol. 2, 8; Hall, Int. Law, 236, 237.) And both the United States and Great Britain, as also other Powers, have repeatedly, through treaties and other agencies, secured money due their citizens on contractual obligations from other states. And why not?

"Hall, with much reason, says:

"'Fundamentally, however, there is no difference in principle between wrongs inflicted by breach of a monetary agreement and other wrongs for which the state, *as itself the wrongdoer*, is immediately responsible.'

"The difference which is made in practice is in no sense obligatory, and *it is open to the Governments to consider each case by itself, and to act as seems well to them on the merits.*"*

This is the received opinion, against which I do not believe that the so-called Drago doctrine will prevail. Nevertheless, it is not improbable that a thorough discussion of the subject at The Hague would be of wide-spread benefit in making the advocates of the two opinions better acquainted with their respective views.

Mr. Drago does not seem to me to deal with actual conditions. He speaks as if these defaults were altogether the misfortune, and not at all the fault, of the defaulting Governments and peoples. But the defaulters are sometimes grievously to blame.†

* United States and Venezuela Claims Commission, Opinions, 314.

† After stating in his Instructions to the Delegates of the United States to the Third International Conference of American States, held at Rio de Janeiro last summer, that it has long been the established policy of the United States not to use its armed forces for the collection of ordinary contract debts due to its citizens by other Governments, Mr. Root observed (under date of June 18th, 1906):

"It is doubtless true that the non-payment of public debts *may* be accompanied by such circumstances of fraud and wrongdoing or violation of treaties as to justify the use of force."—Report of the Delegates, Doc. No. 365, Sen., 59th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 41.

In his reply to Mr. Drago's note, without expressing concurrence or dissent, Mr. Hay observed:

"The President declared in his Message to Congress, December 3rd, 1901, that by the Monroe Doctrine 'we do not guarantee any State against punishment if it misconducts itself provided that punishment does not take the form of the acquisition of territory by any non-American Power.'"

The international right of intervention for the collection of contractual debts of Governments, although it may rarely be exercised, cannot be surrendered and must be held in reserve as a final sanction in the interest of civilization. Creditor Governments cannot stand idly by, indefinitely, and see members of the family of nations live what has been styled a life of public shame —appealing to arms instead of reason, to force instead of law, and making their territories scenes of ever-recurring violence and bloodshed and destruction and misery. So-called "revolutions" are financed to a very considerable extent at the expense of the foreign creditors of the state. Sources of income that have been appropriated by treaty as security for the payment of public debts are seized and misappropriated, and the prevailing lawlessness leads not only to outrages, sometimes of the most ferocious character on innocent individuals, natives and foreigners, but also to the plunder or reckless expenditure of the public revenues, and to that general insecurity of life and property in which progress and prosperity (no matter how bountiful nature may have been to the country) are impossible.*

Mr. Drago makes the following citation from Alexander Hamilton:

"Contracts between a nation and private individuals are obligatory according to the conscience of the sovereign, and may not be the object of compelling force. They confer no right of action contrary to the sovereign will."

But this does not seem to me to support Mr. Drago's contention that under no circumstances should the public debt of a state be forcibly collected by other states. Hamilton was simply stating the old rule that the sovereign could not be sued at law

* Referring to an episode in the financial history of San Domingo, Professor J. B. Moore, as agent for the United States, under the protocol of January 31st, 1903, for the settlement of the claims of the San Domingo Improvement Company against the Dominican Republic by arbitration, observed:

"Evidently no one contemplated such a thing as *expulsion by force* from the security. Possibilities of earthquakes, tempests, floods, revolutions were doubtless contemplated, as reflected in the rate per cent.; but no one dreamed of possible national seizure of the security; no one thought that after San Domingo had received the money, a Government would come into existence that would seize and destroy the security on the faith of which it was given. Otherwise there would either have been no loan at all or else careful provision would have been made to restrain the Government from the misuse of its physical force."—Argument of the United States before the Commission of Arbitration, p. 94.

by the subject; or, in its more modern form, that the state is not suable except to the extent and in the manner which it itself prescribes. He was not speaking of international rights and duties, but of the "right of action" as between subject and sovereign.

Vattel, who wrote before Hamilton, ranks a contract between a Government and a foreign individual with treaties between nations, and there is no question that treaties may be "the object of compelling force." In Hamilton's time, the United States could not be sued at law by the private citizen; but, since 1855, it has been suable in the Court of Claims, and, since 1863, subject to final judgments, on contracts with its citizens, express or implied, or on any law of Congress or any regulation of an executive department, either party having the right of appeal to the Supreme Court in cases involving more than $3,000;* and, under the Tucker Act of 1887, as recently construed by that court, the United States may also be sued in certain cases of a tortious character.†

It is no longer true in the United States (or, as a rule, in other civilized countries) that the nation's contracts are "obligatory according to the conscience of the sovereign." The obligation is now decided by the conscience of the court, applying the law to the facts, and it would be revolutionary for Congress to refuse to pay such judgments. In his famous note, Mr. Drago says:

> "The Argentine Government has made its provinces indictable, and has even adopted the principle that the nation itself may be brought to trial before the Supreme Court on contracts which it enters into with individuals."‡

The petition of right by which, in England, a claim is prosecuted by a subject against the Crown, has endorsed on it, when entertained by the court: "*Soit droit fait al partie.*"

Its distinguished author is not alone in claiming Hamilton and Hamilton's country as supporting (in principle) "the Drago doctrine"; for it is stated in the Report of the Delegates to the Third International Conference at Rio de Janeiro that:

* 10 Stats. at Large, 612; 12 Stats. at Large, 765; United States *vs.* Klein, 13 Wall., 128, 144, 145.

† Dooley *vs.* United States, 182 U. S., 224, 228; United States *vs.* Lynch, 188 U. S., 465, 475, 476; Basso *vs.* United States, 40 Ct. Clms., 202, 215, 216.

‡ Forn. Rels., 1903, p. 2.

"It is well known that the principle advanced and so ably discussed by Doctor Drago has been for a great many years maintained by the United States, one of whose statesmen, Alexander Hamilton, early gave definite form to the principle, as did Lord Palmerston also when Prime Minister of England."*

We have already cited Mr. Hay's memorandum on Mr. Drago's note and Mr. Root's instructions to the delegates; and, as for Lord Palmerston, he has always been regarded as the champion of the principle that there is a reserved international right of forcible intervention for the collection of the public debt of a defaulting state. In his famous circular, addressed in 1848 to British representatives at foreign courts, his lordship said:

"If the question is to be considered in its bearing on international right, there can be no doubt whatever of the *perfect right* which the Government of every country possesses to take up, as a matter of diplomatic negotiation, any well-founded complaint which any of its subjects may prefer against the Government of another country, or any wrong which from such foreign Government those subjects may have sustained; and if the Government of one country is entitled to demand redress for any one individual who may have a just but unsatisfied pecuniary claim upon the Government of another country, the right so to require redress cannot be diminished merely because the extent of the wrong is increased, and because, instead of there being one individual claiming a comparatively small sum, there are a great number of individuals to whom a very large amount is due."

After explaining that the British Government had pursued a policy of non-intervention in such cases, in the hope that the losses of imprudent men would prove a salutary warning to others and prevent foreign loans from being raised in Great Britain except by Governments of known good faith and ascertained solvency, his lordship concluded as follows:

"But, nevertheless, it might happen that the loss occasioned to British subjects might become so great that it would be too high a price for the nation to pay for such a warning as to the future, and in such a state of things it might become the duty of the British Government to make these matters the subject of diplomatic negotiation."

To this, Mr. Hall adds, in a note containing the foregoing citation:

"A short time previously, Lord Palmerston, in answer to a question in the House of Commons, indicated that under certain circumstances

* Report of the Delegates to the Third International Conference, held at Rio de Janeiro in 1906, p. 12.

he might be prepared to go to the length of using force. The doctrine and the principles of policy laid down in Lord Palmerston's circular have been lately reaffirmed by Lord Salisbury. See the 'Times' of January 7th, 1880."*

Assuming that there is an analogy between the relations of states in the family of nations and the relations of individuals in the state, it is very significant that as between individuals in every civilized country the simplest legal obligation has the whole force of government behind it. If I borrow money, and do not repay it when due, my creditor can sue me wherever he can find me; he can seize and sell my property in execution of his judgment; if I have made conveyances in fraud of my creditors, he can have these fraudulent transactions exposed and set aside, and compel me to pay to the uttermost extent of my ability. If as mortgagor I am sold out of house and home in foreclosure, and refuse to quit the premises, a writ of ejectment will issue against me, and if I commit a breach of the peace by resisting I may be put in jail.

There can be no permanent peace without justice, and, with the world as it is, the *right* to enforce pecuniary obligations between nations—as between individuals—must be reserved in the interest of civilization. This sanction should not be invoked between nations (or men) inconsiderately, or ever, perhaps, except as a last resort; and, when the amount or the equity of the obligation is in doubt, and impartial arbitration is proposed by the debtor Government, it should be accepted by the creditor. But, between nations as between individuals, the sanction of force will only become unnecessary when what Vattel calls the "innate and necessary law" has entire possession and control of the souls of men and the state can, *therefore,* do no wrong.

But this belongs to the time of which poets have dreamed and seers foretold—when "mercy and truth are met together and righteousness and peace have kissed each other"; when men "shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks: when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, nor learn war any more."

Meanwhile, this international right of which we have been speaking must be reserved, to be exercised by and by, let us hope, in better ways than war; in such a concert of nations for the

* Hall's Inter. Law, 1st ed., part II, chap. VII, § 87, pp. 237, 238.

ascertainment and administration of international justice as would make resistance futile, as, indeed, it would have been in the tripartite blockade; or, better yet, as in the cases of Great Britain in Egypt and the United States in San Domingo, by helping the debtor states so to use their resources and preserve the peace as to enable them to regain their credit and to pay off their debts and thus to give them a fair start on the road that leads to national development and individual well-being.

CRAMMOND KENNEDY.

RETROSPECTS OF THE DRAMA.

BY HENRY A. BEERS, PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN YALE UNIVERSITY.

THE English drama has been dead for nearly two hundred years. Mr. Gosse says that in 1700 the English had the most vivacious school of comedy in Europe. And, if their serious drama was greatly inferior, still the best tragedies of Dryden and Otway—and perhaps of Lee, Southerne and Rowe—made not only a sounding success on the boards, but a fair bid for literary honors. Ten years later the drama was moribund, and in 1747 its epitaph was spoken by Garrick in the sonorous prologue written by Dr. Johnson for the opening of Drury Lane:

> "Then, crushed by rules and weakened as refined,
> For years the power of Tragedy declined:
> From bard to bard the frigid caution crept,
> Till declamation roared whilst passion slept.
> Yet still did Virtue deign the stage to tread;
> Philosophy remained though nature fled.
> But, forced at length her ancient reign to quit,
> She saw great Faustus lay the ghost of wit:
> Exulting Folly hailed the joyful day,
> And pantomime and song confirmed her sway—"

That is, as has been complained a hundred times before and since, the opera and the spectacular show drove the legitimate drama from the stage.

The theatre, indeed, is not dead: it has continued to live and to flourish, and is furnishing entertainment to the public to-day, as it did two hundred—nay, two thousand—years ago. The theatre, as an institution, has a life of its own, whose history is recorded in innumerable volumes. Playhouses have multiplied in London, in the provinces, in all English-speaking lands. The callings of the actor and the playwright have given occupation

to many, and rich rewards to not a few. Scholars, critics and literary men are apt to look at the drama as if it were simply a department of literature. In reading a play, we should remember that we are taking the author at a disadvantage. It is not meant to be read, but to be acted. It is not mere literature: it is both more and less than literature. The art of the theatre is a composite art, requiring the help of the scene-painter, the costumer, the manager, the stage-carpenter, sometimes of the musician and dancer, nowadays of the electrician; and always and above all demanding the interpretation of the actor. It is not addressed to the understanding exclusively, but likewise to the eye and the ear. It is a show, as well as a piece of writing. The drama can subsist without any dialogue at all, as in the pantomime; or with the dialogue reduced to its lowest terms, as in the Italian *commedie a soggetto,* where the actors improvised the lines. "The skeleton of every play is a pantomime," says Professor Brander Matthews, who reminds us that not only buffoonery and acrobatic performances may be carried on silently by stock characters like Harlequin, Columbine, Pantaloon and Punchinello; but a story of a more pretentious kind may be enacted entirely by gesture and dumb show, as in the French pantomime play "*L'Enfant Prodigue.*" A good dramatist includes a good playwright, one who can invent striking situations, telling climaxes, tableaux, *ensemble* scenes, spectacular and histrionic effects, *coups de théâtre.* These things may seem to the literary student the merely mechanical or technical parts of the art. Yet, without them, a play will be amateurish, and no really successful dramatist has ever been lacking in this kind of skill.

Still, although stage presentation, the *mise en scène,* is the touchstone of a play as play, it is of course quite possible to read a play with pleasure. It is even better to read it than to see it badly acted, just as one would rather have no pictures in a novel than such pictures as disturb one's ideas of the characters. A musical adept can take pleasure in reading the score of an opera, though he would rather hear it performed. This is not to say that a play depends for its effect upon actual performance in anywhere near the same degree as a musical composition; for written speech is a far more definite language than musical notation. I use the latter only as an imperfect illustration.

This professional quality has been much insisted on by prac-

tical playwrights, who are properly contemptuous of closet drama. But just what is a closet drama? Let it be defined provisionally as a piece meant to be read and not acted. Yet a play's chances for representation depend partly on the condition of the theatre and the demands of the public. Mr. Yeats, for example, thinks that a play of any poetic or spiritual depth has no chance to-day in a big London theatre, with an audience living on the surface of life; and he advises that such plays be tried in small suburban or country playhouses before audiences of scholars and simple, unspoiled folk. To the English public, with its desire for strong action and variety, Racine's tragedies are nothing but closet dramas; and yet they are played constantly and with applause on the French theatre. In the eighteenth century, when the English stage still maintained a literary tradition—though it had lost all literary vitality—the rankest sort of closet dramas were frequently put on and listened to respectfully. No manager now would venture to mount such a thing as "Cato" or "Sophonisba" or "The Castle Spectre." The modern public will scarcely endure sheer poetry, or long descriptive and reflective tirades even in Shakespeare. Such passages have to be cut in the acting versions. The Elizabethan craving for drama was such that everything was tried, though some things, when brought to the test of action, proved failures. Ben Jonson's heavy tragedies, "Catiline" and "Sejanus," failed on the stage; and Daniel's "Cleopatra" never got so far as the stage, a rare example of an Elizabethan closet drama. Very likely, modern literary plays like "Philip Van Artevelde" and Tennyson's "Queen Mary" might have succeeded in the seventeenth century. For the audiences of those days were omnivorous. They hungered for sensation, but they enjoyed as well fine poetry, noble declamation, philosophy, sweet singing, and the clown with his funny business, all in close neighborhood. They cared more for quantity of life than for delicate art. Their art, indeed, was in some ways quite artless, and the drama had not yet purged itself of lyric, epic and didactic elements, nor attained a purely dramatic type. Since then, the French, whose ideal is not so much fulness of life as perfection of form, have taught English playwrights many lessons. Brunetière, speaking of the gradual evolution and differentiation of literary kinds *(genres)*, says that Shakespeare's theatre, as theatre, exhibits the art of drama in its infancy.

Perhaps, then, no hard and fast line can be drawn between an acting drama and a closet play. It is largely a matter of contemporary taste. "Cato," we know, made a prodigious hit. Coleridge's "Remorse," a closet drama if there ever was one, and a very rubbishy affair at that, was put on by Sheridan, though with many misgivings, and lasted twenty nights, a good run for those days. No audience now would stand it an hour. And yet we have seen Sir Henry Irving forcing Tennyson's dramatic poems into a temporary *succès d'estime*. "Samson Agonistes" is a closet play, without question; but is "The Cenci"? Shelley wanted it played, and had selected Miss O'Niel for the rôle of Beatrice. But it never got itself played till 1889, when it was given before the Shelley Society at South Kensington. The picked audience applauded it, just as an academic audience will applaud a rehearsal of the "Antigone" in the original Greek; but the dramatic critics sent down by the London newspapers to report the performance were unconvinced.

Let it be granted, then, that the question in the case of any given play is a question of more or less. Still, the difference between our modern literary drama, as a whole, and the Elizabethan drama—which was also literary—as a whole, I take to be this: that in our time literature has lost touch with the stage. In the seventeenth century, the poets *wrote for* the theatre. They knew that their plays would be played. In the nineteenth century, English poets who adopted the dramatic framework did not write for the theatre. They did not expect their pieces to be played, and they addressed themselves consciously to the reader. When one of them had the luck to get upon the boards, it was an exception, and the manager generally lost money by it. Thus, in the late thirties and early forties, in one of those efforts to "elevate the stage," which recur with comic persistence in our dramatic annals, Macready rallied the literari to his aid and presented, among other things, Taylor's "Philip Van Artevelde," Talfourd's "Ion," Bulwer's "Richelieu" and "The Lady of Lyons," and Browning's "Stafford" and "A Blot in the 'Scutcheon." The only titles on this list that secured a permanent foothold on the repertoire of the playhouses were Bulwer's two pieces, which were precisely the most flimsy of the whole lot, from the literary point of view. "A Blot in the 'Scutcheon" has been tried again. As I saw it a number of years

ago, with Lawrence Barrett cast for Lord Tresham and Marie Wainwright as Mildred, it seemed to me—in spite of its somewhat absurd *motivirung*—decidedly impressive as an acting play. On the other hand, "In a Balcony," though very intelligently and sympathetically presented by Mrs. Lemoyne and Otis Skinner, was too subtle for a popular audience, and was manifestly unfitted for the stage.

The closet drama is a quite legitimate product of literary art. The playhouse has no monopoly of the dramatic form. Indeed, as the closet dramatist is not bound to consider the practical exigencies of the theatre, to consult the prejudices of the manager or the spectators, fill the pockets of the company, or provide a rôle for a star performer, he has, in many ways, a freer hand than the professional playwright. He need not sacrifice truth of character and probability of plot to the need of highly accentuated situations. He does not have to consider whether a speech is too long, too ornate in diction, too deeply thoughtful for recitation by an actor. If the action lags at certain points, let it lag. In short, as the aim of the closet dramatist is other than the playwright's, so his methods may be independent.

In the rather bitter preface to the printed version of "Saints and Sinners" (1891), Mr. Henry Arthur Jones complains of "the English practice of writing plays to order for a star performer," together with other "binding and perplexing . . . conventions and limitations of playwriting," as "quite sufficient to account for the literary degradation of the modern drama." The English closet drama of the nineteenth century is an important body of literature, of higher intellectual value than all the stage plays produced in England during the same period. It is not necessary to enumerate its triumphs: I will merely remind the reader, in passing, that work like Byron's "Manfred," Landor's "Gebir," George Eliot's "The Spanish Gypsy," Horne's "Orion," Beddoe's "Death's Jest-Book," Arnold's "Empedocles on Etna," Tennyson's "Becket," Browning's "Pippa Passes" and Swinburne's "Atalanta in Calydon," is justified in its assumption of the dramatic form, though its appeal is only to the closet reader. I do not forget that one or two of these have been tried upon the stage, but they do not belong there, and, as theatre pieces, were flat failures.

It is hard to say exactly what qualities ensure stage success.

As reading plays, Lillo's "George Barnwell" is intolerably stilted, Knowles's "Virginius" insipid, "The Lady of Lyons" tawdry; yet all of them took notoriously, and the last two—as any one can testify who has seen them performed—retain a certain effectiveness even now. Perhaps the secret lies in simplicity and directness of construction, unrelaxing tension, quick movement, and an instinctive seizure of the essentially dramatic crises in the action. In a word, the thing has "go"; lacking which, no cleverness of dialogue, no epigrammatic sharpness of wit or delicate play of humor can save a comedy; and no beauty of style, no depth or reach of thought, a tragedy. Hence it is pertinent to remark how many popular playwrights have been actors or in close practical relations with the theatre. In the seventeenth century this was a matter of course. Shakespeare was an actor, and Molière and Jonson and Marlowe and Greene and Otway, and countless others. Cibber was an actor and stage-manager. Sheridan and both Colmans were managers. Garrick and Foote wrote plays as well as acted them. Knowles, Boucicault, Robertson, Pinero and Stephen Phillips have all been actors. Conceded that this professional point of view has been rightly emphasized, yet before the acted drama can rank as literature, or even hope to hold possession of the stage itself for more than a season, it must stand a further test. It must read well, too. If it is no more than an after-dinner amusement, without intellectual meaning or vital relation to life: if it has neither strength nor truth nor beauty as a criticism of life, or an imaginative representation of life, what interest can it have for serious people? Let us stay at home and read our Thackeray. Eugène Scribe was perhaps the cunningest master of stagecraft who ever wrote. Schlegel ranked him above Molière. He left the largest fortune ever accumulated by a French man of letters. His plays were more popular in all the theatres of Europe than anything since Kotzebue's melodramas; and all European purveyors for the stage strove to imitate the adroitness and ingenuity with which his plots were put together. But if one to-day tries to *read* any one of his three hundred and fifty pieces—say, "Adrienne Lecouvreur" or "La Bataille des Dames"—one will find little in them beyond the mechanical perfection of the construction, and will feel how powerless mere technical cleverness is to keep alive false and superficial conceptions.

When it is asserted, then, that the British drama has been dead for nearly two hundred years, what is really meant is that its *literary* vitality went out of it some two centuries ago, and has not yet come back. It is hard to say what causes the breath of life suddenly to enter some particular literary form, inspire it fully for a few years, and then desert it for another; leaving it all flaccid and inanimate. Literary forms have their periods. No one now sits down to compose an epic poem or a minstrel ballad or a five-act blank-verse tragedy without an uneasy sense of anachronism. The dramatic form had run along in England for generations, from the mediæval miracles down to the rude chronicle histories, Senecan tragedies, and clownish interludes of the sixteenth century. Suddenly, in the last years of that century, the spark of genius touched and kindled it into the great drama of Elizabeth. About the middle of the eighteenth century life abandoned it again, and took possession of the novel. Fielding is the point of contact between the dying drama and new-born fiction. The whole process of the change may be followed in him. "Tom Jones" and "Amelia" still rank as masterpieces, but who reads "The Modern Husband," or "Miss Lucy in Town," or "Love in Several Masques," or any other of Fielding's plays? How many even know that he wrote any plays? Mr. Shaw attributes Fielding's change of base to the government censorship. He writes:

"In 1737 Henry Fielding, the greatest practising dramatist, with the single exception of Shakspere, produced by England between the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century, devoted his genius to the task of exposing and destroying parliamentary corruption. . . . Walpole . . . promptly gagged the stage by a censorship which is in full force at the present moment [1898]. Fielding, driven out of the trade of Molière and Aristophanes, took to that of Cervantes; and since then, the English novel has been one of the glories of literature, whilst the English drama has been its disgrace."

But Mr. Shaw's explanation fails to explain, and his estimate of Fielding's talent for drama is too high. With the exception of "Tom Thumb," his plays are very dull, and it is doubtful whether, given the freest hand, he would ever have become a great dramatist. It was not Walpole but the *Zeitgeist* that was responsible for his failure in one literary form and his triumph in another. The clock had run down, and though Goldsmith

and Sheridan wound it up once more towards the end of the century, it only went for an hour or so. It is usual to refer to their comedy group as the last flare of the literary drama in England before its final extinction.

In the appendix to Clement Scott's "The Drama of Yesterday and To-day" there is given, by way of supplement to Genest, a list of the new plays put on at London theatres between 1830 and 1900. They number about twenty-four hundred; and—until we reach the last decade of the century—it would be hard to pick out a dozen of them which have become a part of English literature: which any one would think of reading for pleasure or profit, as one reads, say, the plays of Marlowe or Fletcher or Congreve. Of course, many of the pieces on the list are of non-literary kinds — burlesques, vaudevilles, operas and the like. Then there is a large body of translations and adaptations from the foreign drama, more especially from the French of Scribe, Sardou, Dumas, *père et fils,* d'Hennery, Labiche, Goudinet, Meilhac and Halévy, Ohnet and many others. Next to the French theatre, the most abundant feeder of our modern stage has been contemporary fiction. Nowadays, every successful novel is immediately dramatized. This has been the case, more or less, for three-quarters of a century. The Waverley Novels were dramatized in their time, and Dickens's stories in theirs, and there are a plenty of dramatized novels on Scott's catalogue. But the practice has greatly increased of recent years. Now, for some reason, a dramatized novel seldom means a good play; that is to say, permanently good, though it may act fairly well for a season. One does not care to *read* the stage version of "Vanity Fair," known as "Becky Sharp," any more than one would care to read "The School for Scandal" diluted into a novel. The dramatist conceives and moulds his theme otherwise than the novelist. "Playwriting," says Walter Scott, "is the art of forming situations." To be sure, Shakespeare took plots from Italian "novels," so called; that is, short romantic tales like Boccaccio's or Bandello's. But he took only the bare outline, and altered freely. The modern novel is a far more elaborate thing. In it, not only incident and character, but a great part of the dialogue is already done to hand.

Glancing over Clement Scott's list, old playgoers will find their memories somewhat pathetically stirred by forgotten fash-

ions and schools. There are Planché's extravaganzas, and later Dion Boucicault's versatilities—"classical" comedies like "London Assurance," sentimental Irish melodramas—"The Shaughraun," "The Colleen Bawn"—and popular favorites, such as "Rip Van Winkle"; the equally versatile Tom Taylor, with his "Our American Cousin," "The Ticket-of-Leave Man," etc.; Burnand's multifarious *facetiæ;* the Cockney vulgarities of that very prolific Mr. H. J. Byron; and, in the late sixties, Robertson's "cup-and-saucer" comedies—"Ours," "Caste," "Society," "School." Three thousand representations of these fashionable comedies were given inside of twenty years. How gay, how brilliant, even, the dialogue seemed to us in those good old days! But take up the text of one of Tom Robertson's plays now and try to read it. What has become of the sparkle? Does any one recall the famous "Ours" gallop that we used to dance to *consule Planco? Eheu fugaces!*

The playwriters whom I have named, and others whom I might have named, their contemporaries, were the Clyde Fitches, Augustus Thomases and George Ades of their generation. They provided a fair article of entertainment for the public of their time, but they added nothing to literature. The poverty of the English stage, during these late centuries, in work of real substance and value, is the more striking because there has been no dearth of genius in other departments. There have been great English poets, novelists, humorists, essayists, critics, historians. Moreover, the literary drama has flourished in other countries. France has never lacked accomplished artists in this kind: from Voltaire to Victor Hugo, from Hugo to Rostand, talent always, and genius not unfrequently, have been at the service of the French theatres. In Germany—with some breaks—the case has been the same. From Lessing and Goethe and Schiller down to our own contemporaries, to Hauptmann, Sudermann and Halbe, Germany has seldom been without worthy dramatists. Both the Germans and the French have taken the theatre seriously. Their actors have been carefully trained, their audiences intelligently critical, their playhouses in part maintained by government subventions, as institutions importantly related to the national life.

It is not that English men of letters have been unwilling to contribute to the stage. On the contrary, they have shown an eager, although mostly ineffectual, ambition for dramatic honors.

In the eighteenth century it was well-nigh the rule that a successful writer should try his hand at a play. Addison did so, and Steele, Pope, Gay, Fielding, Johnson, Goldsmith, Smollett, Thomson, Mason, Mallet, Chatterton and many others who had no natural turn for it, and would not think of such a thing now. In the nineteenth century the tradition had lost much of its force: still, we find Scott, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Tennyson, Thackeray, Browning, Matthew Arnold, Swinburne, all using the dramatic form, and some of them attempting the stage. Charles Lamb, one of the most ardent of playgoers and best of dramatic critics, was greatly chagrined by the failure of his farce, "Mr. H——." Dickens was a good actor in private theatricals, and was intensely concerned with the theatre and the theatrical fortunes of his own dramatized novels. So was Charles Reade, who collaborated with Tom Taylor in a number of plays, and whose theatre-piece, "Masks and Faces," was the original of his novelette, "Peg Woffington"—*vice versa* the usual case. More recently we have seen Stevenson and Henley collaborating in three plays, "Deacon Brodie" and "Beau Austin," performed at London and Montreal in 1884-87, and "Admiral Guinea," shown at the Haymarket in 1890; the first and third, low-life melodrama and broad comedy, of some vigor but no great importance; the second, an unusually good eighteenth-century society play. Most certainly these experiments do not rank with Stevenson's romances or Henley's poems. Another curious illustration of the attraction of the dramatic form for the literary mind is Thomas Hardy's "The Dynasts" (1904), a drama of the Napoleonic wars, projected in nineteen acts, with choruses of spirits and personified abstractions; a sort of reversion to the class of morality and chronicle play exemplified in Bale's "King John." Mr. Hardy is perhaps the foremost living English novelist, but "The Dynasts" is a dramatic monster, and, happily, a torso. The preface confesses that the abortion is a "panoramic show" intended for "mental performance" only, and suggests an apology for closet drama by inquiring whether "mental performance alone may not eventually be the fate of all drama other than that of contemporary or frivolous life."

Mr. Henry James, too, has tempted the stage, teased, yet fascinated, by the "insufferable little art"; and the result is a dramatized version of "Daisy Miller," and two volumes of "The-

atricals": "Tenants" and "Disengaged" (1894); "The Album" and "The Reprobate" (1895). These last were written with a view to their being played at country theatres (an opportunity having seemingly presented itself), but they never got so far. In reading them, one feels that a single rehearsal would have decided their chances. Mr. James, in the preface to the printed plays, treats his failure with humorous resignation. He complains of "the hard meagreness inherent in the theatrical form," and of his own conscientious effort to avoid supersubtlety and to cultivate an "anxious simplicity" and a "deadly directness"—to write "something elaborately plain." It was to be expected that Mr. James's habit of refined analysis would prove but a poor preparation for acted drama; and that his singular coldness or shyness or reticence would handicap him fatally in emotional crises. Whenever he is led squarely up to such, he bolts. Innuendo is not the language of passion. In vain he cries: "See me being popular: observe this play to the gallery." The failure is so complete as to have the finality of a demonstration.

What was less to be expected is the odd way in which this artist drops realism for melodrama and farce when he exchanges fiction for playwriting. Sir Ralph Damant, in "The Album," is a farce or "humor" character in the Jonsonian sense, his particular obsession being a fixed idea that all the women in the play want to marry him. In "Disengaged," Mrs. Wigmore, a campaigner with a trained daughter, is another farce character; and there are iterations of phrase and catchwords here and elsewhere, as in Dickens's or Jonson's humorists. In "The Reprobate," Paul Doubleday and Pitt Brunt, M.P., have the accentuated contrast of the Surface brothers. In "The Album," that innocent old stage trick is played again, whereby some article—a lace handkerchief, a scrap of paper, a necklace, or what not—is made the plot centre. In "Daisy Miller"—dramatized version—the famous little masterpiece is spoiled by the substitution of a conventional happy ending and the introduction of a blackmailing villain. All this insinuates a doubt as to the reality of a realism which turns into improbability and artificiality merely by a change in the method of presentation. But the doubt is unfair. No *reductio ad absurdum* has occurred, but simply another instance of the law that every art has its own method, and that the method of the novel is not that of the play. Of course, there are

clever things in the dialogue of these three-act comedies, for Mr. James is always Mr. James. But the only one of them that comes near to being a practicable theatre piece is "Tenants," which has a good plot founded on a French story.

The paralysis of the literary drama, then, has not been due to the indifference of the literary class. Perhaps it is time thrown away to seek for its cause. The fact is that, for one reason or another, England has lost the dramatic habit.

HENRY A. BEERS.

THE POST-ROADS POWER OF CONGRESS: AN HISTORICAL VIEW.

BY J. WALTER LORD.

DURING the eight years in which this nation pursued its precarious existence under the Articles of Confederation, prepared, as these articles had been, without previous experience as to the necessities of a national government and without any considerable deliberation, the one thing which deeply impressed itself upon the statesmen of the period, was the vital necessity to the integrity of a national government of vesting in that government a power over commerce between the States, as well as with foreign nations. The Articles of Confederation made no provision for such power, and the indications pointing to a disposition on the part of the States to pursue independent systems of commercial policies, thus creating distinctions and preferences which would lead inevitably to discontent and disunion, made the nationalization of the commerce power one of the principal reasons—in the opinion of many, indeed, the prime cause—for the establishment of the Constitution. For more than a century, the power of Congress "to regulate commerce among the several States" has been the subject of judicial interpretation by the Supreme Court more frequently than any other clause in the Constitution; it has been the justification and support for many forms of legislation by Congress; and, principally because of its manifest purpose to provide for the exigencies which were not met by the Articles of Confederation, has been construed to be a power of remarkable latitude, acknowledging no limitations over the subject-matter to which it relates.

In marked contrast to this is the power vested in Congress "to establish post-offices and post-roads"; a power which has received hardly any judicial interpretation; a power which has rarely been

exercised, and then only in such a mild and innocuous manner that it has given rise to no State opposition. This power, thus lying virtually dormant for over a century, is now invoked, though by suggestion merely, to accord to Congress a control over the railways of this country not only with respect to subjects which are national in their character, but also with respect to subjects which lie within the scope of the internal administration of State affairs—a jurisdiction over intrastate commerce as well as over interstate commerce. The mere statement of this object is sufficient to suggest a careful examination of the post-roads clause, in the light of its origin and of its development during more than a century of our political history.

As in the case of the *commerce* clause, the nature and purpose of the *post-roads* clause can be discovered in some degree by recurring to the proceedings which led up to the adoption of the Constitution, and by considering the conditions which prevailed at the time. The Articles of Confederation provided that Congress "shall have the power of establishing and regulating post-offices from one State to another throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of said office." The first draft of a new Constitution submitted to the Federal Convention was the one submitted on May 29th, 1787, by Charles Pinkney. The only record of this draft, supposed by many to be imperfect, makes provision, in the 8th section, for the power "to establish post-offices" and the power "to establish post and military roads." In his speech presenting the draft, Pinkney says that the 8th section differs from the Articles of Confederation in this respect only, in that it gives "the Federal Government a power not only to exact as much postage as will bear the expense of the office, but also for the purpose of raising revenue." The inference to be drawn seems to be that the power respecting "post and military roads" was not in his draft, or, if included, was not of sufficient importance to call for comment or explanation. When the Committee on Detail, who were charged with the duty of preparing a draft for discussion, reported on August 6th, the postal power was expressed in the simple clause "to establish post-offices." On August 16th, when the discussion reached this part of the new draft, a motion was made by Gerry to add the words "and post-roads" after the word "post-offices," which

was passed by a vote of six to five. There is no record of any discussion of the reasons why five States opposed this motion, nor is there anything in the geographical location of these States which would indicate a substantial ground for such opposition. The fact that a considerable amount of other business was transacted on the day in question, leads one to believe that the opposition pertained to form, rather than to any vital question as to the extent of power. On August 18th, twenty propositions involving additional powers were submitted by Madison and Pinkney, and referred to the Committee on Detail. One of these was the power "to regulate stages on the post-roads." On the same day, Gerry moved the additional power "to provide for stages on the post-roads" which was also referred to the Committee. These two propositions would seem to indicate an idea in the minds of their sponsors, and an assent to it on the part of the whole Convention (there apparently having been no discussion), that the power as already adopted "to establish post-offices and post-roads" was not to be one of a very comprehensive character. This seems to have been the last word upon the subject in the Convention; and the Committee on Detail, in its report on September 4th, recommended the adoption of certain of the twenty additional powers, making no reference to the propositions in question. During the many lengthy debates in the Conventions of the various States upon the question of the ratification of the Constitution, although nearly every other power received extensive consideration, the *post-roads* clause seems to have been ignored, except for the single instance of a motion by a Mr. Jones in the New York Convention to the effect that "the power of Congress to establish post-offices and post-roads is not to be construed to extend to the laying out, making, altering or repairing highways in any State *without the consent* of the legislature of such State." Two other constructions were made *dum fervet opus,* so to speak, and of a considerable weight was the one by Mr. Gerry, who stated in Congress on December 6th, 1791, that the power to establish post-roads "cannot possibly mean anything else but to point out what roads the post shall follow"; the other was by Mr. Madison, who in No. 42 of the "Federalist" says: "The power of establishing post-roads must, in every view, be a *harmless* power, and may, perhaps, by judicious management, become productive of great public conveniency. Nothing which tends to *facilitate* the intercourse

between the States can be deemed unworthy of the public care."

In so far, therefore, as we are able to form any opinion from the records of the times, the conclusion is well-nigh irresistible that the founders of our Government never attached grave importance to the post-roads power; never intended it to be one of considerable extent; and certainly never intended it to be an instrument of national encroachment upon the internal affairs of the States. In comparison with the commerce power, it pales into insignificance. The most that can be said of it at the present stage of our examination is, that it was designed to preserve the integrity of the postal service, and as ancillary, perhaps, to the *commerce* clause, to *facilitate* the transmission of intelligence between the States.

But the discussion thus far has taken no account of the conditions antedating the adoption of the Constitution. Do these in any way alter the interpretation thus imputed to it? In the early stages of our Government, the only roads for the passage of mails were highways owned by the various States. The function of carrying the mails was, however, confided to the National Government by virtue of the post-office clause in the Articles of Confederation. Naturally, no opposition or complaint was put forward by any of the States on account of the use made of its highways for this purpose, as the Government used the highways in common with other persons and on similar terms. But, whilst no positive obstruction was liable to occur, the possibility of the States' highways becoming unsuitable for proper despatch in the postal service, through failure of the States to keep them up to a proper standard of efficiency, must have been apprehended, and some specific provision that would enable the National Government to act in such an emergency must have been thought to be advisable. Considering the circumstances in which it was adopted, it seems reasonable to suppose that it was this notion, and this alone, which accounts for the clause giving Congress the power "to establish post-roads." And this hypothesis seems to agree with the view of the Kentucky Supreme Court* to the effect that it is a "power to make roads, whenever the unfitness or unreasonableness of State policy may render such a course expedient." This is a very illuminating opinion, and, with the exception of

* In Dickey *vs.* Turnpike Co. (7 Dana 113).

Cleveland R. Co. *vs* Franklin Canal Co. (1 Pitts Law, J. 142), where the Court holds that post-roads may not be constructed through a State without its consent, is believed by the writer to contain the only discussion of the extent of the power in question.*

Until 1806, Congress exercised this power only to the extent of designating what State roads should be post-roads. In that year, the Cumberland Road Act was passed, the Act making provision for obtaining the consent of the States whose territories the road was to traverse. Minor road Acts were also passed at this time. These, however, did not provide for obtaining the consent of the States to be affected. Discussion on the subject was not provoked until some ten years afterwards, when the question of internal improvements became a burning issue. Madison and Monroe then doubted the power of Congress to "construct" roads with or without the consent of the States to be affected, as had Jefferson previously; but they recognized the efficacy of this policy and suggested a constitutional amendment that would legalize it. In Congress opinion on the question was closely divided, but the views of Clay and Calhoun that the power was not merely "adoptive," but "original" and "creative"—that the word "establish" meant to "construct" as well as to "designate"—finally prevailed, and a policy of construction of post-roads was inaugurated. The question of obtaining consent of the States was, at that time, of no serious moment, as the States affected by the scheme were, for the most part, clamoring for these roads, and as to some of them there were provisions in the Acts admitting them into the Union from which such consent could be fairly implied. It seems, however, to have been the settled opinion, even of the latitudinarians, that Congress could not construct roads through the territory of a State without having first obtained its consent.

The next and last class of legislation partaking in part of the exercise of this power is the Pacific Railways Acts and the Telegraph Act. In the early sixties, the Federal Government entered upon a policy of aiding in the construction of railroads connecting the Mississippi Valley with the Pacific Coast, the intervening territory consisting at that time almost entirely of the public domain. The Central Pacific R. R. Co. had been incorporated

* The reader is also referred to the case of U. S. *vs.* Kochersperger (1 Cad. Cas.), where the history of the postal service is gone into very thoroughly.

in 1861 by the State of California to build as far as the Eastern boundary of that State. In 1862, Congress incorporated the Union Pacific R. R. Co. and authorized it to construct a railway from a point in the territory of Nebraska to the western boundary of the territory of Nevada, to connect at the latter point with the Central Pacific and, if necessary to effect such a junction, to continue its construction through California "with the consent of said State"; the Act providing also for obtaining the consent of any other States through which the line might pass. The Act also authorized certain existing Companies to construct lines and connect with the Union Pacific; but as to one of these, the Kansas Pacific R. R. Co., no provision was made for obtaining State consent. In 1865, however, the legislature of Missouri gave its consent, the Company in the mean time having constructed part of its road in the territory of that State, apparently upon the assumption that the authority bestowed upon it by the Act of Congress was derived from the power to "regulate commerce," and that State consent was therefore unnecessary. The other Congressional railway incorporations following within the next four years do not consistently embody the principle of the necessity of State consent, possibly because of the opinion that these Acts were referable to the *commerce* power rather than to the *post-roads* power. The Telegraph Act, passed in 1866, authorized any telegraph company to construct and operate lines of telegraph over any portion of the public domain and along any post-roads, but it contained no provision for obtaining State consent. This, it is believed, is the latest exercise of the *post-roads* power in its creative sense.

Having thus shown the genesis of the power in question, and having traced its development in the legislative branch of the National Government, we observe two things: first, that it was the conviction of such members of the Federal Convention and other statesmen of that time, of whose opinions on the point there are any records, that it was a *designatory* power; and, secondly, that it subsequently came by practical construction to be regarded as a *creative* power, the exercise of which in that respect was at first believed to be dependent upon the consent of the States, and, later, not to be dependent upon such consent. Concerning this question of consent, it must appear upon a most superficial examination that, if a *creative* character is to be ascribed to it, the

efficiency of this power would be vitally impaired if its exercise could be wholly prevented by the caprice of a State. But, on the other hand, having full regard to its origin and the conditions under which it has received its practical construction, can it be fairly said that the National Government may exercise it within a State's territory in any manner it sees fit? Is not the correct view the one that the doctrine of State consent is to be qualified rather than eliminated?

In approaching this question let us, in order to give the greatest necessary effect to the *post-roads* power, assume that the *commerce* power never existed. Let us, then, suppose the case of a State with several railways in its territory connected with railways running through other States and operating under agreements for interchange of traffic with the latter, but, nevertheless, doing also a domestic business and operating under charters from the State in question, either original or in the nature of enabling Acts. Could the Federal Government, through a corporation of its own creation, in virtue of the *post-roads* power, take over these railroads by the exercise of eminent domain, against the wishes of the State? In giving consideration to this proposition, regard must be had to the essential nature of a railroad. A railroad chartered by a State is the instrument and agent of that sovereignty in discharging the public duty of transportation within its limits. In respect of transportation a State's power is supreme, and it is its duty to perform this function by highways, railroads or other approved methods. Instead, however, of undertaking the performance itself, it acts through public service corporations. But, though acting thus by delegation, it retains its sovereign interest in the highway, railway or waterway, as the case may be, to the same extent as in other public works directly owned and operated by it. To concede to Congress a power to condemn and take over the railways chartered by a State is not, as upon first impression it might seem, to concede to it the power to take *private* property upon making compensation, but it is to concede to it the power to assume ownership and control of the instruments of State sovereignty. And if, under the post-roads clause, this power be once asserted and sustained, it is not perceived where any limit could be logically placed upon its exercise. If Congress might thus take over a State's railways, by virtue of the power "to establish post-roads," it may seem at first blush

a fantastic, but it is none the less a logical conclusion that Congress could condemn a City-hall or even a State-house under its power "to establish post-offices."

A different proposition, however, might present itself were the National Government to authorize *de novo* the construction of a railway through the territory of a State. There might be some reason for denominating this a legitimate exercise of the *post-roads* power, even in spite of State opposition. It might be true that practical necessities attending such an enterprise would require condemnation of part of a State's railroad for the purpose of crossings; but this, in practice and in principle as well, is an entirely different thing from taking over the whole or any substantial portion of a State's instrument of internal administration.

It is believed that the only Supreme Court decision which gives even a slender support—and that, too, in a most indirect way—to the proposition that the Federal Government could acquire a proprietary interest in a State railroad, as in the first hypothetical instance, is the Pensacola Telegraph case, in which the Telegraph Act of 1866 is construed. In this case the State of Florida, having granted to the Pensacola Telegraph Co. a monopoly in certain of its territory, that Company sought to enjoin the Western Union Telegraph Co. from constructing and operating, in pursuance of the Act of 1866, a telegraph line along the line of a railroad traversing the territory to which the monopoly extended, which railroad, though chartered by the State of Florida, had been declared by Congress to be a post-road. The decision of the Court declining an injunction, might be regarded as implying a recognition of the right of Congress to exercise a proprietorship in the bed of the railroad against the consent of the State; that consent being deemed to have been constructively withheld by the original grant of monopoly to the plaintiff Company. But in the recent case of Western Union Telegraph Company *vs.* Pennsylvania R. R. Co. the Court, without discussing the question of Congressional power to grant such authority, held that the right to construct telegraph lines over post-roads, bestowed upon telegraph companies by the Act of 1866, did not imply the right of eminent domain.

A careful examination, however, of the Pensacola case, as well as of the other decisions ostensibly involving the *post-roads* power in its creative sense, will show that the actions of Con-

gress are attributed rather to the *commerce* power. In the Pensacola case, importance is given to the considerations that the transmission of intelligence by means of the telegraph is commerce, and that the State of Florida could not, without thwarting the legitimate exercise of the Federal commerce power, exclude from its limits a corporation engaged in this business when properly authorized by Congress; and the language of the opinion strongly indicates that these form the basis of the decision. Moreover, in the Pennsylvania Railroad case we find language strongly suggestive of the proposition that the Pensacola decision would extend only to *interstate* telegraphic communications; that is to say, that with respect to telegraphic messages entirely within the State limits, such a monopoly as was intended by the Florida statute would be upheld. In the decisions involving questions relating to the Pacific Railway corporations, the action of Congress has been principally attributed to its *commerce* power, and in the Wheeling Bridge case the legality of the bridge across the Ohio River, declared by Congress to be a post-road, was sustained not on that ground, but on the ground that it was a regulation of interstate commerce.

Beginning with the opinion of Chief-Justice Marshall in the case of Gibbons *vs.* Ogden, practically in the infancy of our national existence under the Constitution, the *commerce* power has been accorded the widest scope; and such a construction not only comports with the purpose of the States in surrendering this power, but with the importance attached to it by the founders of our Government. The exigencies of national affairs, as plainly foreseen in the abstract and since demonstrated in the concrete, require this construction, and a restricted interpretation would have resulted, no doubt, in national derangement, if not in disunion. The subject-matter to which it relates—interstate commerce—though broadened by the development of our civilization, nevertheless imposes limitations upon the exercise of that power that preserve to the States such of those sovereign powers as are requisite to a proper administration of their internal affairs; powers which, both by constitutional right and by practical necessity, ought to be preserved in their integrity. On the other hand, what limitations inherent in the *post-roads* power, if it be construed to vest in the Nation a control over railroads transporting the mails, irrespective of whether their business is, or is not,

interstate, exist to prevent Congress from imposing strictures upon the exercise of these sovereign State powers? It is conceded that within its legitimate confines the clause will apply to every avenue upon which the mails are carried by merely declaring such avenue to be a post-road. If, therefore, Congress might exercise a control over railroads, might it not exercise a like control over trolley systems, the streets of the cities, the highways of the States, all of which in their primary nature are essentially instruments of State sovereignty? Where would this control stop? It is difficult to perceive. For, under the guise of facilitating the postal service or keeping it up to the highest point of efficiency, there would seem to be no legal barrier to the scope of Congressional action, once the principle is asserted and sustained that Congress might exercise the control which is contemplated. The necessity of any Act which Congress might deem expedient to facilitate the postal service would not be subject to consideration by the Courts, because questions of expediency in legislation belong to the legislative and not to the judicial department of Government.

Is, then, the *post-roads* power to supersede the *commerce* power, as it certainly will if the construction proposed becomes effective? Is a power regarded by the founders of our Government as "in every view a harmless power" and surrendered by the States without question or deliberation, to be substituted for a power regarded by these founders as one vital to the Union and surrendered by some States only after considerable protest? Is a power heretofore rarely exercised, and then, too, always in a guarded manner and with due recognition of the rights of the States, over a century of national existence, to be given a broader scope than one which, during that period, has served to preserve the integrity of the Union, and which, for this purpose, is comprehensive enough to meet all the necessities of the future? The time may be close at hand when these questions will have to be answered.

J. WALTER LORD.

THE WEST-INDIAN AND AMERICAN NEGRO: A CONTRAST.

BY W. P. LIVINGSTONE.

AMERICANS who visit the West Indies for the first time invariably express surprise at the character of the relations they observe to exist between the whites and the negroes in the British islands. There does not appear to be much antipathy or friction between the two communities, their daily association is marked by friendliness and good humor, while race reprisal and mob law seem to be absolutely unknown. Is it possible, they ask, that a satisfactory solution of the problem which has become so acute and menacing in their own country has been arrived at in these colonies? Why, they say, should the conditions vary to such an extent in regions so closely contiguous and among races of precisely similar character?

Before attempting to answer these questions, it is necessary to emphasize the fact that the negro race is at present in the elementary stage of human evolution, and as impressionable as a child to external influences. The black man always becomes what he is made by his environment and the higher forces that press upon him. To realize the truth of this one has only to notice the variations in type which prevail throughout the West Indies. In the British islands the colored inhabitant has gradually become British in thought and habit; in Haiti he is a black Frenchman; in Cuba he has been moulded into a Spaniard. On the cosmopolitan Isthmus of Panama, one can often tell at a glance whence a negro worker has come, and on this being determined his mental and social qualities can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy. In what way, then, do the conditions which govern him in the United States vary from those which have brought about the results we see in the West Indies?

One of the chief, though not the most potent, of the factors in the situation is the racial nomenclature adopted. In the British West Indies, the dark-skinned population is graded into two distinct classes, the "colored" section of mixed parentage and the negroes of pure blood, the former being considered as on a higher racial plane than the latter. The same rule applies in Haiti and Spanish-American countries possessing similar race elements. Such a system naturally tends towards the separation of the two types, the creation of color-caste and the development of mutual jealousy and distrust. Whatever one may think of these results, they have the effect of weakening the power of combination among the members of the darker race, and of strengthening the solidarity and supremacy of the whites.

In America, on the other hand, there is no such differentiation. All who are connected by blood with the African race are designated "negroes," the term being applied even to persons who are, to all appearance, white in skin, and who are practically white in thought and temperament. Between these and the whites lies an impassable gulf: they are absolutely debarred from all friendly association with the people to whom they feel they have the greatest affinity. They and their children, though whiter still, are forced to take their place everywhere in black America as individuals belonging to an inferior and degraded race. Although resenting a classification which they consider illogical and unnatural, they have never been given any choice in the matter, and they have, at last, come to acquiesce in the arrangement. What is the result? It is leading to the unification of all Afro-Americans as no personal inclination or mutual persuasion could have done. The "colored" class, which contains the most intelligent and ambitious men of the race, has deliberately thrown in its lot with the black, and set itself to the task of educating and training them for the great struggle which, they believe, is to come. The system in the West Indies, more tolerant, is less dangerous to social and racial integrity.

It is not to be supposed, however, that racial feeling is absent in the West Indies. One does not mean race hatred, but that natural antipathy which regulates the relations of all widely separarated people, the sentinel which keeps watch and ward over the purity of highly developed races. This principle governs the attitude of all classes. It is recognized that the white and the

black are essentially different in nature: that each has his own life to live and his own destiny to work out, independently, though not apart from one another, in the same way as master and servant, cultured and illiterate, mingle in an ordinary white community. The whites regard the negro as a primitive being, incapable as yet of standing alone, and adopt the attitude of trainers and teachers: the negroes are conscious of their inferiority and willingly fall into the position of learners.

Hence the lack of visible antagonism in their daily contact. They use the same railroad and street-cars and the same churches and schools, and "colored" men occupy most of the subordinate, and some of the higher, positions in the public service. The constables who maintain order throughout the community are all black or colored. Despite this close and constant contact at all points in the civil life, it is seldom that one hears of any conflict due entirely to the clash of racial prejudices. Yet keen observers are always able to detect a certain reserve behind the easy attitude assumed—a certain line of demarcation drawn instinctively by the self-consciousness of each race. Intimate relations do not, as a rule, exist. Intermarriage is of comparatively infrequent occurrence: it is chiefly confined to the fairer members of the "colored" class and rarely takes place between pure black and pure white.

Holding unassailed the position of racial superiors and masters in their own house, the British carry out the policy of training up the negroes for whatever position in the future they may be able to take by granting them a certain measure of political independence. Here, also, tolerance has proved the truest wisdom. The qualifications for the franchise are low enough to embrace all self-respecting and industrious citizens; but, as a matter of fact, very few take advantage of the benefit of going to the polls, though voting is absolutely unfettered and there is no intimidation. White men or lightly colored men are, as a rule, returned to the elective assemblies. In a very few cases negroes have been elected, but this has been due either to the fact that the white candidate has not commended himself to the general electorate or to the absence of such a candidate. So little interest is manifested in the elections that, in a recent case, a constituency remained unrepresented for some years because no one, negro or white, could be induced to come forward. Wher-

ever a popular white man can be found, the negroes prefer him to one of their own race. So far, therefore, no harm has come from the concession of the vote. Having obtained it, they do not use it and are satisfied with the altruistic spirit and work of the governing race. The truth is that the negroes distrust their own power of collective action and prefer autocratic rule, so long as it is just and leaves them their freedom. The governments of negro republics, or republics with a large African element in the population, are usually dictatorships.

Very much the same feeling prevails among the negroes in the United States, their experiences having taught them the value of a centralized government, a beneficent despotism. When they plumped for President Roosevelt, it was the man, not the Republican party, for whom they voted. How, then, are the actual conditions so different from those in the West Indies? We have seen that the negro is there regarded as a ward, an inferior type, but capable of development, who has to be trained up for responsible citizenship. But in the United States he is legally equal, in all respects, to the white man. The Constitution has obliterated the color line, has placed the negro on a level with the higher race and has guaranteed him the enjoyment of the same privileges. It is an extraordinary policy, in line neither with natural law nor with the dictates of experience and common sense; and it is not surprising that the whites who live alongside of the negroes resolutely decline to accept the situation. On the other hand, one cannot blame the negroes, who are, it must be remembered, supported by a considerable body of white opinion in the North. They are simply claiming their constitutional rights; and, so long as these remain to them, they will continue to press for recognition and equal treatment. All who have the slenderest acquaintance with the philosophy of the negro question know, however, the inevitable result of such a situation. It means just what one sees in black America, the steady growth of passionate prejudice and hostility, culminating at frequent intervals in explosions of lawlessness that startle and shock the world. In the North, side by side with a general altruistic sentiment, there is a quiet but growing movement adverse to the social and economic advancement of the negro; in the Middle States, there is a stricter social ostracism and an active and open opposition to his political ascendency, and in the South, along

with an uncompromising hostility to his social and political progress, there is a strong disposition to restrict his industrial development and to relegate him permanently to the position of a servile worker. This is a penalty he is paying for a privilege he possesses only in name. It would be perfectly just to say that the colored people of America are being sacrificed on the altar of the Constitution.

The next point of difference arises out of the conditions just mentioned. In the West Indies, with the status of the two peoples clearly defined, with political and economic freedom, with absolute justice administered in the courts, there is a complete absence of racial crime. The law is sure and inflexible, and punishment automatically follows the offence, be the delinquent white or black. It is not fear of consequences, however, which restrains the whites from resorting to violence, so much as the loss of self-respect it would involve. One does not wreak vengeance on a child. The sense of race superiority, of wardship, has the effect of making the whites rise above petty ebullitions of jealousy and hostility where the blacks are concerned. And, on the other hand, the innate respect for the whites, which nothing has so far tended to diminish, makes the negroes peculiarly pacific. Throughout the West Indies, there is no haunting dread of the negro, no necessity to go about armed or to safeguard the sanctity of one's home. The idea of protection against possible outrage never enters the mind of the white residents. One has to think of the circumstances in which they live to appreciate what this means. There are hundreds of white homes scattered throughout the interior districts where the women of the household are constantly being left to themselves for days, and even for weeks, surrounded only by a black community. But no one imagines that these women are in danger from the negroes. A white woman, in fact, can go anywhere alone and will receive nothing but humble deference and courtesy from every black man she meets. It is the occasional low-class white, stranded in the country, whom she has reason to fear.

What the conditions are in the United States are only too well known. The entire South is darkened by the shadow of mutual suspicion and outrage. No white woman cares to walk abroad without escort: every house has its stock of weapons and most persons carry a revolver for self-protection. Mob law, with its

accompaniments of strange barbarity, is of common occurrence. Social freedom is paralyzed, and in some districts the situation amounts to a reign of terror. All this is due to the false position in which the negroes have been placed, and which has compelled the whites to adopt, often against their will, an attitude of antagonism tempered by neglect. The blacks do not always get justice,—and there is nothing which they resent so keenly as the deprivation of this right. Their mistreatment, in one form or another, has succeeded in alienating them from the white race; they have lost all their reverence for it; and there is no check upon the development of the baser elements in their nature.

The object here is not to suggest remedies, but to make a comparison from which the reader may draw his own conclusions. It is necessary, however, to point out that the position of the white in America is more difficult in some respects than that of the white in the West Indies. That there is less hostility to the blacks in the latter sphere is not to be attributed altogether to the higher ethical principles dominating the actions of the British. Much is due to geographical conditions. The West-Indian negroes are far distant from the main body of British whites, and neither comes into direct contact and competition with the other. Compared with the great masses of colored inhabitants, the white residents in the islands are a mere handful. The former do not claim equality, and they accept whatever social honor the whites voluntarily grant them. Fundamental race antipathy exists there as elsewhere, but it is not accompanied by friction, because the political and social contact is not sufficiently close and the climate prevents anything like economic competition. But, if the proportions of the population were equalized and the climate more adapted for white men, as in the United States, we should find a different state of things. Despite altruistic considerations, the whites would probably be much less tolerant of the negro and more averse to his social advancement. The development of the British Empire has already furnished minor illustrations of what happens in such circumstances; and the situation now being produced in South Africa is likely to demonstrate, on a larger scale and in a more startling way, the tragic character of race contact and conflict even under more favorable conditions than those which prevail in the United States.

W. P. LIVINGSTONE.

SHIFTING THE BURDEN—COMPENSATION FOR INJURIES.

BY A. MAURICE LOW.

In his latest speech at Jamestown, President Roosevelt advocated legislation by which a working-man injured in the course of his employment shall be compensated by his employer. This, in a few words, is the substance of the President's deliverance. Like all of Mr. Roosevelt's utterances, it has been severely condemned and with equal vigor commended. He has been accused of having enunciated "an entirely new and radical doctrine," of having advocated "a new kind of paternalism calculated to have a deadening effect upon the sense of individuality," of having advanced an argument "that smacks of socialism," of having given expression to views that are "demoralizing and degenerating to the very theory of our Constitution." Censure and praise are equally extreme. Mr. Roosevelt has made no discovery, he has not even elaborated an old theory; whether his doctrine is radical will depend upon the point of view. *En passant,* it is interesting to note that in political terminology the word "radical" means one thing in England and quite another thing in the United States; and what is "radical" in America is simply "progressive conservatism" in England. Every foreigner who has studied the United States sociologically is always amazed at the paradox of its conservatism. He is led to expect that this country will be the world's laboratory for experimenting in social legislation, that every theory will be tested to demonstrate its truth, and that the United States will lead in social legislation. On the contrary, he finds that Americans are much more cautious in undertaking social experiments than Europeans. A law placed on the statute-books by the Conservative party in England, as a logical development in the progress of society, is considered by many Americans

intensely radical, dangerously socialistic, in that it strikes at the very foundation of society and threatens not only the social order, but the destruction of national independence. It is presumed that Mr. Roosevelt is at least reasonably familiar with the official publications of his own Government, and Bulletins No. 32 and 70 of the Department of Labor will show that the scheme he advanced at Jamestown has been in operation in England for the past ten years. Whether it is advisable to borrow legislation of this character from England I shall not now discuss; but, in view of the attention given to the subject by serious-minded men, I propose briefly to explain the reasons which led to the adoption of the Act, the objects sought to be accomplished and its results.

To meet the issue frankly, let it be said at the outset that this is "class legislation" in its most extreme form, but in that it differs not in the least from the whole mass of "Protective Legislation" that for the last half-century has constituted the chief work of lawmakers the world over. By protective legislation the sociologist means those laws designed to protect the laborer, the wage-earning class, the men and women engaged in gainful operations, from the consequences of their own folly or ignorance and the cupidity or indifference of their employers. Laws restricting hours of labor or output, requiring proper sanitation in factories, providing for safety appliances in mines and railways, fencing machinery to safeguard employees, prohibiting the employment of children of tender age—these and all similar laws which we now regard as a matter of course first found their expression in England with the beginning of the factory system, and were acknowledged to be in the interest of a class—a class which the State was morally bound to protect because it was incapable of protecting itself. Space will not permit me to go into this branch of the subject at any length, and a recent bulletin of the Bureau of Labor (No. 70: "A Short History of Labor Legislation in England") traces in concise form the genesis and growth of this legislation; but two things must be emphasized. One is that, having had their inception purely in humanitarianism, it was not until long afterwards that the economic value of these laws was understood, and it took men many years to grasp what is now a truism, that there is a certain limit of physical endurance, and that, when that limit is reached, labor ceases to be profitable. In other words, it is cheaper to work a man

eight hours a day than it is to work him ten or twelve, because after he has worked eight hours he is mentally and physically fagged out and his work falls below the profitable standard. The other fact, of equal interest, is that at the beginning both employers and employees opposed the laws, the one believing that it would ruin them, and the other, that it was an interference with freedom of contract, and hampered them in the sale of their only commodity, their labor. Both theories have been proved to be fallacious.

The British Workmen's Compensation Act, which came into operation on July 1st, 1898, both destroyed and created—it struck down, in effect, although not in expressed terms—the pernicious common-law doctrine of "common employment," and it laid an obligation upon the employer to succor his employees when in distress. The doctrine of "common employment," which the courts of this country recognize, relieves an employer of liability for an injury caused to a person in his employment if the injury was the result of the negligence of another person also in his employment. Thus, if a man employed by a railway company in New York to couple cars does his work so negligently that, when those cars are uncoupled in Chicago, the employee there must inevitably have his hand crushed, under the common-law doctrine of "common employment" he has no remedy against the railway company, as the man in New York and the man in Chicago are "fellow servants," and each assumes the risk of negligence on the part of the other—a doctrine manifestly unjust. The common law has further protected the employer by the application of the principle of "*volenti non fit injuria.*" If the employer can prove that the employee was injured in the course of his occupation by a risk which it is inferred the workman must have known, the employer is relieved of liability. To succeed in an action at common law for an injury caused by defective plant, it would be necessary to prove that the employer knew, but the workman was ignorant of the defect which caused the injury. A further obstacle to the recovery of damages by a workman in an action at common law is the defense of "contributory negligence"; the law holding that, if the injury was caused through the combined negligence of both parties, the injured person cannot recover. Thus, it might be the duty of a workman to clean a machine in motion, and the owner of the

machine might not have equipped it with a safety device to prevent accident; yet, although the workman might be maimed for life because of the parsimony or indifference of the employer, it might be easy for him to show negligence on the part of the workman, and under the common law doctrine of contributory negligence the workman could obtain no redress.

It will be seen, therefore, that while, theoretically, the law of England gave a workman protection and compensation when he met with an accident in the course of his occupation, in point of fact he seldom if ever was able to obtain redress. The doctrines of common employment, *volenti non fit injuria* and contributory negligence were ramparts about the employer that the working-man was unable to overthrow. The injustice of this was so apparent that an agitation began for an amendment to the law that would place employer and employee more nearly on an equality. It was not until 1880 that this agitation bore fruit in the passage of the Employer's Liability Act, which makes an employer liable for injury to a person in his employ when the injury is caused by defective plant or machinery or the negligence of persons entrusted with superintendence. But that law really did little to correct the evils it was designed to meet. It was, in the first place, difficult to prove negligence; many accidents are not due to negligence, but are an unavoidable incident arising out of the occupation; and as most employers refused voluntarily to make compensation, the result was costly and uncertain litigation. Speaking generally, it may be said that the working-man was little better off after the passage of the Employer's Liability Act than he was before.

When the Act was found to be unsatisfactory, numerous attempts were made to secure its amendment, which principally took the form of the abolition of the principle of "common employment." In 1893, Mr. Asquith, the Home Secretary, representing the Government of the day, brought in a bill for that purpose, which after passage by the Commons was rejected by the Lords. That bill finally grew into the Workmen's Compensation Act in the form of an amendment moved by Mr. Chamberlain, in 1897, "that no amendment of the law relating to employer's liability will be final or satisfactory which does not provide compensation to workmen for all injuries sustained in the ordinary course of their employment, not caused by their own

act or default." This is the principle of the law as it now stands. "It is difficult to overrate the boldness or importance of the step then taken by the legislature," is the statement made by a departmental committee appointed by the Secretary of State for Home Affairs in 1903 to inquire into the workings of the law.

It has already been observed that, in the long struggle between humanitarianism and cupidity and criminal indifference, when a finer ethical conception and a wider knowledge of the duties of society induced a small number of men to bring about the passage of protective legislation, that legislation was always opposed both by masters and workmen, because both believed the burden would fall on them. It was so in this case. Prior to the passage of the law, Mr. John Wilson, a member of Parliament and secretary of the Durham Coal Miners' Association, in a circular issued to his Association said, supposing a scheme of compensation adopted, the money will no more come from the employer than "the water we drink comes from the tap or the pipe it flows out of. It may run out of the tap, but it must come from the spring or other source. So the money paid will come from the spring of the employer's wealth—the labor of the workman."

Manufacturers and the employers of labor generally saw in this law, if not their ruin, at least a very heavy reduction of their profits. They did not agree with Mr. Wilson that the money paid in compensation would "come from the spring of the employer's wealth—the labor of the workman"; on the contrary, they held it would come out of their own pockets. The colliery proprietors, for example, asserted that the proposed law would impose a charge equivalent to three pence per ton on every ton of coal mined, or an annual charge of £2,375,000. When the bill was pending in the House of Commons, Mr. Asquith agreed with Mr. Wilson, and suggested that, inasmuch as a large share of the burden would fall upon wages, the working-men would gain little benefit. Mr. Chamberlain replying to Mr. Asquith said that, admitting the correctness of the argument, "every addition to the cost of manufacture must come out of wages, which, I think, will reduce the argument to an absurdity." In the course of the same debate he said: "We have provided for those who are injured by no fault of their own, but we have gone beyond that, because we have provided for those who have contributed to the accident from which they suffer."

The law provides that a workman injured in the course of his occupation, when that injury is not due to any violation of the rules and regulations established and approved by the proper authorities for the conduct of the business, whether or not that accident was due to the default or negligence of the employer, shall be compensated by him as follows: In case death results from the injury and the workman leaves dependents wholly dependent upon his earnings, a sum equal to three years' wages, or £150, whichever sum is larger, but in no case to exceed £300; in case of partial dependence, a sum not exceeding the amount payable for total dependency as may be agreed upon or determined; in case of total incapacity, a weekly payment during the entire time of incapacity equivalent to one-half the weekly earnings, but not to exceed one pound. Practically, a working-man totally disabled and unable to earn his living in his regular trade is given a pension for life on half wages, except in those cases where his wages exceeded two pounds a week, as the maximum pension is limited to one pound, but the employer has the option to commute the pension by the payment of a lump sum. In the case of partial incapacity, a sum not exceeding one-half the wages shall be paid during the period of incapacity, but the amount the workman is able to earn may be regarded as a set-off and the employer's contribution reduced accordingly. The law works automatically.

Having thus explained the motives that induced the legislature to enact the law, and the objects sought to be attained, we must now consider three aspects of the subject, namely: Is it the duty of the State to provide for those unable to provide for themselves; and what are the economic and sociologic effects of State interference and assistance?

The first question—the duty of the State to furnish assistance—cannot be answered dogmatically, because the answer to it will be determined by the conception every person has of the proper relation existing between the State, representing society as a whole, and the individual—which is a conception biased by political and other considerations. To those who believe that the State is something more than a "big policeman," and that the State is remiss in its duties when it is content merely to provide prisons and hospitals, the principle exemplified by the Workmen's Compensation Act is logically the proper development of the highest

form of social duty; to those who hold to the contrary and believe that the best-governed state is the least-governed state, the liability thrown on the employer for compensation to his workmen may well be regarded "a pernicious doctrine." As the question, in this connection, is academic no profitable end can be gained by its discussion at this time. But when we approach the other phase of the question—the effect of the law sociologically and economically—we are on surer ground.

The test of every law is time—the experience which proves whether philosophically the law meets a demand or is merely the unconsidered expression of momentary excitement; and the supreme test of all economic laws is the response to the demands made upon it in a time of a falling market. In other words, an economic law is like a ship whose buoyancy and stability and general seaworthiness can only be proved, not when it lies at anchor, but when it has been buffeted by wind and wave. In a rising market, when the times are good and labor is scarce, every pseudo-economic law justifies itself, as the most unseaworthy craft does in fair weather; but it is only in time of stress that we are able really to discover whether a law is economically sound or an assumption predicated on false principles. The Workmen's Compensation Act has not received such a thorough test as would enable us to speak with conviction as to its economic workings, because since its passage the United Kingdom has enjoyed great prosperity, and in England, as in this country, the demand both for products and labor has fully kept pace with the supply.

Two years after the passage of the law, in 1900, the writer made in England and Scotland a study of its operations for the United States Bureau of Labor; and last year, as an incident to another sociological investigation, he paid some attention to its workings, to ascertain to what extent his conclusions of 1900 should be modified. In the report of that year it was stated:

"During the brief period the law has been in force there has been a demand greater than the output for nearly all forms of manufactured articles, and labor has found steady and remunerative employment at constantly increasing wages. In some trades there has been a scarcity of labor, especially since the outbreak of hostilities in South Africa, which seriously affected the labor market by the withdrawal of men from gainful occupations to join the colors. This fact cannot be too strongly emphasized. Both employers and employees agree that the real

merits and defects of the law, its advantages and disadvantages, can only be determined when there is a time of stress, when capital cannot find a productive return, and when labor cannot find employment and the wage scale declines."

With the insufficient data then in possession of the writer, it was only possible to reach one conclusion, that the cost of compensation had not been a tax laid upon the working-men in so far as it imposed a charge upon his wages, as wages instead of having decreased since the law came into effect were higher than before its passage; but it must be repeated that not one but many things affect the level of wages. The natural assumption, then, would be that, as compensation had cost the working-man nothing, the full burden had fallen upon the employer, which is an assumption justified only in part. In estimating the cost of production, a manufacturer calculates the cost of raw material, labor, interest on his capital, expense of distribution and factory and office charges, rent, insurance, advertising, etc. Assuming that compensation to workmen is equivalent to five per cent. (this estimate, of course, is purely arbitrary) of the annual wage roll, here is a fixed sum which must come either out of profits or be added to the selling-price. It may often happen, however, that the consumer will not bear the whole cost, as part of it will be taken up in the slack of the chain of industry. From the producer of the raw material to the consumer every article of commerce passes through many hands, every transaction increasing the cost, but also permitting a specific charge incident to production to be widely distributed. But, even if the whole charge fell upon the consumer, which is only another term for the public at large, it would be merely shifting the burden from the shoulders of the individual to the shoulders of many individuals, and the many are better able to bear the burden than the one. Facing facts frankly as they exist, we are forced to recognize that the working-man as a class is financially unable (whether because of improvidence or misfortune, we need not now consider) to bear without outside assistance the strain of illness long continued. Whether the workman goes to a hospital which is maintained by the general taxes of the community, whether he is supported by the contribution of his fellow workmen, whether he is the recipient of charity, it is immaterial in what form the assistance is rendered, the cost falls not on himself, but is assumed by a

limited number of persons. By the statutory enactment the number of persons is unlimited; their limit is only the number of consumers, and each bears his part in sustaining the burden of his fellow. In the report of the departmental committee to which reference has already been made, the conclusion is reached that, "on the whole, we think, the verdict must be favorable to the Act. In other words, we think that great advantages to the workmen have been obtained without imposing any undue pecuniary burden upon the employers."

We have now to consider the sociological effect of the law, and in that connection an important economic-sociologic phase. Is it for the general advantage of society that a workman shall be pensioned when incapacitated in the line of duty, or is it better for himself individually and for society in the aggregate that, when injured, he shall be cast adrift to shift for himself? Here again the answer will be dictated by the teachings of political philosophy. To the disciples of the Manchester School, who preach the doctrine of *laissez-faire* and whose ideal of the State is a stony-hearted stepmother deaf to the cries and blind to the tears of her unfortunate children, State interference is maudlin sentiment destructive to manhood and independence, but the modern view of the duty of the State is more humane, and is actuated by an intelligent selfishness represented by the formula that what is good for one is best for all. We begin by the recognition of a moral obligation, the acknowledgment that those who, by the accident of nature or even by their own laches, are less fortunate must, in a sense, be taken care of by the more fortunate; but in so doing no prop is withdrawn from them, nothing is done to break down their resistance or initiative. If suffering comes to them, suffering is to be relieved; but no premium is to be placed upon suffering, malingering is not to be rewarded. "It may be that the employer finds some compensation," the report of the departmental committee says, "in the improved relations with his workmen, or in the advantages that result from a clear and definite obligation imposed on all employers engaged in the industry, instead of the more indefinite moral obligations which, previous to the legislation in question, were felt to be binding by good employers, but were neglected by bad."

The working of the law has had one effect which probably

no one was wise enough to foresee at the time of its passage. It has, without question, made it more difficult for the old and infirm to obtain employment, and these difficulties will increase whenever the labor market is redundant—that is, whenever trade is slack and there are more men seeking employment than there is work for them to perform. The reason for this is obvious. A man whose faculties are dimmed and whose muscles are relaxed, a man past the prime of life, is more liable to meet with an accident in a trade requiring great alertness of eye, hand or step than a younger man; and, with the fear of compensation always before him, the employer will naturally select the man with the greatest percentage of chances in his favor. In the old days, it made no difference. If a man fell from a scaffold and broke his back or his leg, the employer was under no legal obligation to compensate his dependents or care for him during sickness, but now he cannot escape from this obligation, so that, when the labor supply is plentiful, the selective process will be employed and only those most fit will industrially survive. In the 1900 Report to which I have previously referred, I said:

> "This [the discrimination against men beyond a certain age] has been referred to without bitterness, but as a fact, an unfortunate but perhaps unavoidable corollary to the effort made to improve general conditions, which, as a general thing, bring about 'the greatest good for the greatest number,' but incidentally, in the process of adjustment, before its accomplishment entails some suffering on the minority."

The departmental committee was sensibly impressed by this effect of the law. "The evidence has led us to the conclusion," the committee said, "that the Workmen's Compensation Acts have largely increased the difficulties of old men finding and retaining employment. We fear the tendency is for these difficulties to grow."

Admittedly, the law is still an experiment; but it is an experiment that so far has worked well, and employers as well as employed agree that it has served a useful purpose. Experience may prove that, to prevent oppression and to convey the fullest benefits, the law will need to be amended; but one may assert, with due regard for the danger of vaticination before the event, that the Workmen's Compensation Act has been written into the statute-book of England not to be effaced.

A. MAURICE LOW.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX AND EDWARD PORRITT.

MAXIM GORKI'S "MOTHER."*

WHAT a strange, new world we enter when we open a book of Maxim Gorki's! A new planet and a strange, unheard-of language could hardly be a greater adventure than to turn from our current novel to these stern, sad, disconnected pictures of life, these crowds of people, just emerging from barbarism, half awake, questioning life for its significance with such gravity, such solemn earnestness. One looks over a heap of current novels and one finds a story of impersonation and the threadbare device of an exchange of babies in infancy; another offers a convict escaping from penal servitude and succeeding to a baronetcy; another is a tale of an idle rich young man, who learns to speculate boldly on the stock exchange, makes a lot of money and marries the girl he wants; still another is a tale of a woman who marries the wrong man and finds herself in love with another; the husband disappears and she marries the right man only to be upset by the reappearance of the first husband, who then dies in the nick of time and leaves the happy couple reunited and rejoicing. How little, how personal and how absurd it all seems when one has just closed a great book of living ideals. If one turn to the two most serious novels of the last two years, one finds that one deals with a young girl whose highest striving is to keep up with smart society, and in this attempt she loses money and reputation and kills herself; another shows a young woman fascinated by the pomps and glories of the flesh, in love with a well-nourished, well-dressed body and the security and bravado of worldliness, and from these she turns to a man who has at least won to peace

* "Mother." By Maxim Gorki. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

with his own soul. As we set Gorki's "Mother" against such themes as these, we do, indeed, seem to enter a new and different circle of existence. Can it be true, that the new and higher form of consciousness, that consciousness which is social and not personal, is to come to us from the least civilized of lands?

Gorki presents us with a manifold scene, with a great number of characters, almost impossible, with their unpronounceable names, to commit to memory, but all living for an ideal, all ready to court danger and death for the ideal, the liberation of the lower classes. "It's the masters who take pleasure in Christ as he groans on the cross. . . . They destroy lives with work. What for? They rob men of their lives. What for, I ask? My master —I lost my life in the textile mill of Nefidov—my master presented one prima donna with a golden wash-basin. Every one of her toilet articles was gold. That basin holds my life-blood, my very life. That's for what my life went! A man killed me with work in order to comfort his mistress with my blood. He bought her a gold wash-basin with my blood." "Man is created in the image of God," said Yefim, smiling. "And that's the use to which they put the image."

Picture after picture of the degradation, the misery, the suffering, of the poor passes before us, and amongst them, gentle, silent almost to dumbness, slowly growing in courage and comprehension, moves the heroine, the mother, young, and beautiful, and winning, and gay? No, she is old even when the story opens. "She was silent and had always lived in anxious expectation of blows. She was tall and somewhat stooping. Her heavy body, broken down with long years of toil and the beatings of her husband, moved about noiselessly and inclined to one side as if she were in constant fear of knocking up against something. Her broad, oval face, wrinkled and puffy, was lighted up by a pair of dark eyes, troubled and melancholy as those of most of the women of the village. On her right eyebrow was a deep scar, which turned the eyebrow up a little; her right ear seemed to be higher than the left, which gave her face the appearance of alarmed listening. Gray locks glistened in her thick, dark hair like the imprints of heavy blows. Altogether she was soft, melancholy and submissive." How strange a heroine for a novel. The description alone is enough to tell us that we are dealing not with a weaver of fine tales and romantic adventures, but with

a stern psychologist who watches every motion intently, to see the throes that bring a conscious soul to the birth.

"When a man grows scabby," Rybin roughly says, "take him to the bath, give him a thorough cleaning, put clean clothes on him—and he will get well. Isn't it so? And if the heart grows scabby, take its skin off, even if it bleeds, wash it and dress it up all afresh. Isn't it so? How else can you clean the inner man? There now!"

The mother who had lived a dumb, half-awakened existence, her chief concern to ward off beatings, comes slowly to consciousness as she watches her son and grows to know his comrades, all of whom are giving their lives to organizing and instructing the people. "Life altogether is not as it used to be," she says, pathetically. "And the terror is different from the old terror. You feel a pity for everybody and you are alarmed for everybody! And the heart is different. The soul has opened its eyes; it looks on and is sad and glad at the same time. . . . Sometimes at night my thoughts wander off to my past. I think of my youthful strength trampled under foot, of my heart torn and beaten, and I feel sorry for myself and embittered. But for all that I live better now, I see myself more and more, I feel myself more."

It is this that Gorki traces, the soul feeling itself more and more until it lives its life in the lives of others until we begin to foresee a time when people will take delight in one another, when each will be like a star to the other and when each will listen to his fellow as to music. When free men will walk upon earth, and the heart of each shall be purged of envy and greed and life will be one long, glad service to man.

It is in the service to the cause that the mother is killed, shortly after her son has been condemned to exile, she is choked to death by the gend'arme as she stammers, "You poor, sorry creatures."

The writing of this novel is a great gain upon "Foma Gordyeeff"; it is more curt and stern, and yet more keenly alive and has an even greater wealth of detail. In its mastery of detail, in the miraculous way in which the author eliminates himself and looks at life through the eyes of another, it reminds one of that masterpiece "Madame Bovary"; but how different, how many worlds and worlds away does the theme lie.

This is a great and a serious book; it has exquisite description and idealization of nature, and yet it has the flaw which Maxim

Gorki has himself pointed out in all his work: it does not give us joy. Those who have seen the stern, sad face of this master, still less than forty years old, those who know how deliberately he has laid down his young brave life for this cause and its propaganda, know, too, that all the playtime of art has been denied him, and only great solemnity and exaltation can fit themselves into his sad outcries to humanity.

LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

A BOOK WITH A HISTORY.

WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR'S "COMMENTARY ON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF FOX."*

EXCEPT for anecdote concerning the humble origin of the Fox family, which is so gross that it will not admit of reprinting, it cannot be said that Walter Savage Landor's "Commentary on the Life and Character of Charles James Fox," written as far back as 1811, but now for the first time published, adds anything to what is already known of the famous Whig statesman. Yet the disinterment of the solitary surviving copy of the impression that was printed in 1812, but not then published, was abundantly well worth the painstaking labor that Mr. Stephen Wheeler has bestowed upon it; for in its present form the Commentary has both a literary and a political value. On its purely literary side it will make an appeal to admirers of Landor who appreciate his vigorous and unconventional prose; while as regards its political aspects the value of the Commentary lies first in the abundant proof it affords of Landor's sympathy with the United States; and in the second place in its characterization of men and conditions in what was possibly the worst period of modern English political history—in his view of men and political parties in the sombre period in English politics which lies between the American Revolution and the end of the reign of George III.

It is not difficult to understand why John Murray was willing to resort to extreme expedients to get the Commentary off his hands—to prevent it from going out into the world with the Murray imprint. The wonder is that the book ever passed from

* "Charles James Fox, A Commentary on His Life and Character." By Walter Savage Landor. Edited by Stephen Wheeler. London: John Murray. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Murray's desk into the printer's hands; for Murray was closely associated with many of the foremost statesmen and politicians of the Tory party, and in 1811 and 1812 Canning, Croker and others of the Tory politicians, who were handy with their pens, were associated with him in the management of the *Quarterly Review,* then, much more than now, the organ of the Tory party and the literary mainstay of British Toryism. It was through the influence of Southey that John Murray, in 1811, published Landor's "Count Julian: A Tragedy"; and in the same year Landor sent his Commentary on Trotter's fulsome Memoirs of Charles James Fox to Murray, without mentioning it to Southey. Murray sent the manuscript to the printers without reading it; and the volume was ready for the booksellers in February, 1812, before its character and the trouble which would surely have attended its wide publication had dawned on Murray. At this stage Murray sent a copy of the book—the copy that has survived in the Earl of Crewe's library and which Mr. Wheeler has used for the present reissue—to Southey, who was soon in correspondence with Landor as to the urgent need of making some changes. "I could not lie down this night with an easy conscience," Southey wrote to Landor, on February 12th, 1812, "if I did not beseech you to suspend the publication till you have cancelled some of the passages." There was, indeed, much in the volume that might cause Murray alarm; but the publisher seems to have objected most strongly to Landor's dedication of the work to Madison, the President of the United States. Landor was unable to appreciate Murray's dread on this score. He regarded his dedication as a very temperate effusion; he reminded Southey that war had not at this time been declared—as a matter of fact, hostilities did not begin until the summer of 1812—and Landor pleaded with Southey that he wished to point out what harm a war between Great Britain and the United States would do to America. "How deplorable," Landor urged, "that free men should contend with the free."

Gifford, who was the editor of the *Quarterly Review,* and as such closely associated with Murray, had read the dedication, and had promptly unburdened himself to Murray with regard to it. "I never," he told Murray, "read so rascally a thing as the Dedication. It is almost too bad for the Eatons and other publishers of mad democratic books. In the pamphlet itself there

are many clever hits; but there is no taste and little judgment. His attacks on private men are very bad. Those on Mr. C. (Canning) are too stupid to do much harm, or indeed any. The Dedication is the most abject piece of business that I ever read. It shows Landor to have had a most rancorous and malicious heart. Nothing but a rooted hatred of his country could have made him dedicate his Jacobinical book to the most contemptible wretch that ever crept into authority, and whose only recommendation to him is his implacable enmity to his country. I think you might write to Southey; but I would not on any account have you publish such a scoundrel address."

As late as February 21st, Mr. Murray had not acted on Gifford's advice to work through Southey for the suppression of the book; but in a second letter—dated February 21st—Southey advanced a new and remarkable reason against the Dedication to Madison. It was that the President was in the pay of Bonaparte. "The American Government," wrote Southey, "dream of conquering Canada on the one hand and Mexico on the other; and happy would Bonaparte be if he could see them doing his work." Beside the Dedication, in Southey's opinion, the book was full of perilous stuff; for there were passages which were distinctly actionable, or likely, if published, to give Landor cause for regret. By March 12th, 1812, Landor had learned that Murray was disposed to suppress the book, "whether for pay or prejudice," he wrote Southey, "I cannot tell." As for Southey's suspicions about Madison, Landor assured him that he could never believe that the President was in Bonaparte's pay, or that Americans need be paid to resent the indignities and hardships they had suffered under Great Britain's maritime laws. Landor urged further, in this correspondence with Southey, that the orders in council ought to have been revoked; and maintained that war between England and America would be a civil war—"a detestable thing, only to be pardoned when there was some serious and perfidious tyrant to be brought to justice."

Towards the end of February, Murray acted on Gifford's advice and was in communication with Southey as to how he could best relieve himself of the burden and responsibility of the Commentary. He was anxious to hand over the book to some other publisher—into whose hands he was ready to deliver the volumes ready for publication, and with whom he would settle for Landor.

"This," said Southey, in urging Murray's predicament on Landor, "is purely a matter of feeling and not of fear. He is, on the score of the *Quarterly Review,* under obligations to Canning, and would on that account have refused to publish any personal attack on him. The manuscript he never read; looking forward to the perusal of the book as a pleasure. What he wishes will be no inconvenience to you; and no doubt you will readily assent to it." Even at this late stage, Landor did not see matters in the same light as Southey. So far from regarding the proposed transference to another publisher as no inconvenience to him, Landor threatened to borrow five thousand pounds and start a private printing-press whence could be issued, without the aid or obstruction of publishers, pamphlets which would set the public mind more erect, and throw ministerial factions into the dust.

In the end, however, the book was suppressed by Landor; and the only copy that has survived of the impression of 1812 is the one that Murray sent to Southey. This went into the possession of Monckton Milnes, afterwards Lord Houghton, father of the Earl of Crewe, to whom Mr. Wheeler is indebted for the use which has been made of it in bringing out the present volume. By the suppression of the book in 1812 Landor's contemporaries lost some exceedingly piquant expressions of his views on statesmen and politicians of both parties—for the volume deals by no means exclusively with Fox and the memoirs which were compiled by the sycophant Trotter. Had the Commentary been published in 1812 it would assuredly have been largely drawn upon for the popular literature of the movement for Parliamentary Reform. It could not have failed to be of service to that great and long-retarded movement; for of all writers between the French Revolution and 1832 there was not one who was more dead in earnest for reform than Landor; nor one who had a greater contempt for the Whigs and their attitude towards Reform and all other political movements of a democratic tendency.

The reformers of the period between 1812 and 1832 lost the advantage which would have accrued to their movement from the publication of the Commentary; and both Murray and Landor, by the suppression of the book, saved themselves from numerous suits for libel. Much of what Landor wrote of Fox, Dundas, Grey, Rose and the Grenvilles was not far from the truth. Few English politicians of that era, when the rule of the aristocratic

families was at about its worst, when, as Landor asserts, members of the House of Commons, who were brothers and sons of noblemen, "sat and rose only for places and pensions," and when "their very seats were commercial," could have stood the tests that are applied to English politicians to-day—tests that make self-seeking and graft exceedingly dangerous if not almost impossible. But public opinion in England in 1812 was not what it is to-day; and it would have fared ill with Landor and his publisher had the Commentary brought them—as it most surely would have done—into the law courts.

The substance of much of what Landor wrote in 1811 has found its way by this time into the histories or the political diaries which have long ago been published. There is, as was said at the outset, little that is new in this disinterred volume. It will be read not for any new light that it throws on English political history, but in order to ascertain Landor's point of view, and for the enjoyment of Landor's prose. Southey could not possibly have had any sympathy with Landor's politics; but for the sake of Landor's prose, his regret was sincere that there seemed to be no middle course, and that the book was to be suppressed. "Your prose," he wrote to Landor, when he was counselling him not to dedicate the book to Madison, and was urging other changes to avoid libel actions, "is as much your own as your poetry. There is a life and vigor in it to which I know no parallel. It has the poignancy of champagne, and the body of English October." Landor's admirers of to-day have lost but little by the long suppression of the book; for no editor who had disinterred the volume of 1811-12 could have given it a better setting—introduction and notes—than Mr. Wheeler.

EDWARD PORRITT.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG.

LONDON, *June, 1907.*

ONE of the pleasantest events of the month in England has been Mark Twain's visit. The veteran author has received, and as I write is still receiving, the most affectionate welcome from all classes of Englishmen that any writer of my times has met with. The King has singled him out for special attentions; his name is a standing head-line in the London journals, which daily entertain their readers with a half column or so of the good things that Mark Twain said or should have said or might be conceived as saying; he has been the guest of honor at a dinner given by the American Ambassador and attended by many of the choicest spirits in English letters, art and journalism; an abundance of private hospitality, far more, indeed, than he could accept, has been offered to him; that most agreeable of Anglo-American institutions, the Pilgrims' Club, has entertained him at luncheon; and Oxford in conferring a degree upon him was never, in the words of an English writer, "more truly representative of the nation than in thus honoring the most distinctive figure in the world of English letters." Mark Twain must by now be as well used to public admiration as any man living, but in the greetings showered upon him in England, there has been a quality of intimate tenderness, a sort of proprietary pride, that cannot but have moved him profoundly. There is that in his writings which draws readers as much to the man as to the author, and it is not merely for his books, but for the spirit and character revealed in them and for all they have heard of his life and its trials and triumphs, that Englishmen love Mark Twain with an ardor very little below that of his own countrymen. For a generation at least he has been to England the supreme

example of humor in its most piquant, most American form, and the unrivalled guardian, since Charles Dickens died, of the sources of deep, human, elemental laughter. It is possible, indeed, that Englishmen have profited by just the shade of mental difference that separates the two peoples to extract from Mark Twain's humor a more exquisite relish than even the Americans themselves, for whom its flavor can scarcely have the charm of an exotic. It is, at any rate, mainly as a humorist that Mark Twain has taken his place as a popular classic. But you will also find in England a ready and intelligent appreciation of all the other qualities of mind and heart that raise him so far above the level of the mere professional humorist—his masculinity, the idealism that underlies so oddly and acceptably his merry, clear-eyed, half-misanthropical cynicism, his unquenchable faith in women and democracy, the constancy and the vigor of his fight against whatever is pretentious and ignoble, and the abiding sympathy that enables him to read with equal clarity the heart of a harum-scarum American boy and of such a character as Joan of Arc. And if they need, which they do not, any further excuse for acclaiming Mark Twain, Englishmen find it and avow it in two things. One is their knowledge of the financial catastrophe that overtook him when nearly in his sixtieth year, and of the heroic spirit in which that catastrophe was faced. The other is their consciousness that, in honoring Mark Twain, they are honoring the national author *par excellence* of the United States —the man who, both in his writings and in himself, typifies all that is best in the many-sided American spirit, and whom the American people would unanimously pick out as their most characteristic and representative author. Englishmen, in short, have felt urged by a unique combination of impulses to make of Mark Twain's visit an occasion for the display of their national regard for his genius and of their affection for his character; and their homage must, I should imagine, have been peculiarly gratifying both to its recipient and to the American people.

Things are not going very well with the Government. That is, not so much because the Government is a bad one as because it is a Liberal one. The essence of Liberalism is impatience, and no one with any experience of politics will expect three or four hundred men to be impatient with the same things at the same

time and in the same way. They are far more likely to end in developing an excessive impatience with one another. That has always been the failing and the pitfall of the English Liberals. They are still, as they have been for nearly half a century, a congeries of enthusiastic and ill-regulated groups rather than a united and harmonious confederation. Each section has its own pet measure which it regards as of preeminent importance and the claims of which it is apt to press with all too slight a deference to the general interest of the party. And just now all sections are filled with the utmost reforming vigor. They have come back to power after nearly twenty years in opposition, with a negative mandate to preserve free trade, with a positive mandate to effect certain far-reaching changes in the social structure of the country. They are eager to get to work and "do things." Thus, the Nonconformists want an Education Bill; the Temperance group clamors for an amendment of the Licensing Acts; the Irish Nationalists demand a new Land Act, the establishment of a Catholic University, a measure restoring to their holdings the "wounded heroes of the land war" who are less grandiloquently known as the "evicted tenants," and as much of Home Rule as they can extort from the Government; the Welsh members are set upon the disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales; the Labor party has a whole host of measures, such as a Miners' Eight-Hours Bill, old-age pensions, a new housing act and a revolution in the English system of land tenure. At the same time a Liberal Government has to think of the Whigs, who invariably grow fidgety when the "rights of property" are attacked, and has also to think of the reception its measures are likely to meet with at the hands of the Lords.

A Government so harassed is bound to fall a peculiarly easy victim to the temptation which besets all Governments, of overloading its programme and of attempting more than it can possibly perform. Every session sees a vast "slaughter of the innocents"—the dropping, in other words, of most of the measures announced in the King's Speech. This session the slaughter has been somewhat heavier than usual. The Prime Minister early in June announced that, after the rejection of the Irish Council Bill by the Dublin Convention, the measure would not be proceeded with; that the Irish University Bill would have to be postponed to next year; that the Licensing Bill would also

have to be dropped, but would hold the first place on the Government's programme next session; and, most important of all, that the Passive Resister's Bill would likewise be withdrawn and that its place would be taken in 1908 by a second comprehensive attempt to solve the Education question. There is to be no autumn session this year; but, on the other hand, the Prime Minister has given notice that the House will not rise for the holidays until the measures that have not been jettisoned and that still remain on the Government's programme have been carried. These include the two Bills for encouraging small holdings both in England and Scotland, the Army Bill, which has passed its third reading in the House of Commons and is now recognized as the most thoughtful and thorough scheme of army reorganization that has ever been presented to Parliament, two Land Valuation bills for England and Scotland, an Irish Evicted Tenants Bill, an English Working-class Housing Bill, a Court of Criminal Appeal Bill, a Patent Law Reform Bill and a Mines Eight-Hours Bill.

What, however, is particularly worth noticing about it is that it maps out the work not only of this session, but of the next, and that it includes a new Education Bill. The first Education Bill, I need hardly remind my readers, was thrown out by the Lords. The second Education Bill in its provisions and the principles that guide it will be like unto the first. If it meets with a similar fate, if the Lords again reject it, the Government will either have to make an immediate appeal to the country or suffer a tremendous loss of prestige. That is a possibility which makes it not unlikely that the autumn of next year may find us plunged into another General Election, with the House of Lords question and the school question joining hands to form the predominant issue. For the present, however, I merely wish to register the fact that no section of the Liberal party considers itself to have been treated quite fairly in the distribution of the Government's programme. Indeed, were it not for one supreme issue, on which all Liberals are substantially united, these jealous and discordant factions might easily between them make wreckage even of "the strongest Government of modern times."

That issue, of course, is the House of Lords. As I write, it is being vehemently debated in the House of Commons, and,

having been raised, it must go forward to a finish. I think one may fairly take it for granted that the question of the House of Lords must now dominate not only the tactics and the strategy of the Liberal party, but the whole course of English politics for the next few years. It is a question with two distinct sides to it. One is the composition of the Upper Chamber itself. The other is its relations with the House of Commons. The latter part of the problem is the only one with which the Government is anxious to deal. It does not intend to put forward any proposals for making the Upper Chamber more democratic or more representative, or for interfering in any way with its internal composition. The object the Government has set before itself is to find a plan whereby the national wishes shall not be factiously thwarted. The fundamental trouble with the House of Lords, from this particular standpoint, is that it cannot be trusted to act fairly between the two parties. When a Conservative Government is in power the House of Lords passes automatically all the Bills that are sent up to it; it forgets altogether that it is supposed to be a revisory and suspensory branch of the legislature. But when a Liberal Government comes in the Lords scrutinize its measures with hostile minuteness; their prerogatives take on a sudden and expanding activity.

This is a condition of affairs which the Government has made up its mind to try to remedy. It had no option but to do so. The rejection of last year's Education Bill and of the Plural Voting Bill reduced not merely Liberalism as an effective governing agency to impotence, but the democratic principle to a farce. It is perfectly true that the House of Lords has been frequently in the past, and may be as frequently in the future, a truer exponent of the national will than the House of Commons. But more frequently it is the other way about, and the problem is therefore to devise a plan which, in the event of a disagreement between the two Houses, may allow public opinion time and opportunity to declare itself and may insure the predominance of the House of Commons without making it omnipotent. The Government believes it has found such a plan. The resolution which the Prime Minister moved on June 24th was in the following terms:

"That, in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the

other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that, within the limits of a single Parliament, the final decision of the Commons shall prevail."

That resolution was interpreted as a determination to abolish the House of Lords, but the speech in which the Prime Minister brought it forward, and in which he unfolded the plan which is afterwards to be submitted to the electorate, made it clear that the ultimate authority of the House of Commons is to be rendered effective only after full provision for argument, consultation and the informal but potent play of public opinion. To guard against any abuse of power by an exhausted and possibly discredited House of Commons, the Government proposes that the duration of Parliament should be reduced from seven years to five. This is a reform long desired by the Radicals, and must be considered an essential part of the whole scheme for checking the veto of the Lords. That scheme, of course, will only become operative in the case of a dispute between the two Houses. When such a dispute has broken out, the Government proposes that a private conference should take place between an equal number of members from both Houses. If the conference fails to effect an agreement, the Bill, or a similar Bill, is to be reintroduced after an interval of at least six months and passed through the House of Commons, with the discussion of it mapped out beforehand by time-table. The interval of six months would allow both time and opportunity for public opinion to declare itself decisively. After its second passage through the Commons, there would be another conference between the two Houses. If this again failed, the Bill would be passed as quickly as possible through all its stages in the Commons—probably within the limit of a single day—and sent up to the Lords with an intimation that this was their final chance. A third conference between the two Houses would take place on that basis. If it again proved futile the Bill would be submitted for the royal assent in the form of its final passage through the Commons and would become law. Such is the outline of the Government's plan. It is moderate and practical. It secures to the Lords a full participation in the discussion of a contested measure and ample opportunity for affecting its scope and provisions. At the same time, it makes the final predominance of the Commons a reality.

ST. PETERSBURG, *June, 1907.*

THE second Russian Parliament, like the first, has abruptly disappeared, leaving nothing to its credit and much to its debit account. Everybody who had no axe to grind in the Tavrida Palace, and many honest men who had, admitted that the Duma was a dismal failure and its dissolution a pressing necessity.

With the reasons which militated against the continued existence of the Duma, the readers of the REVIEW are familiar. Summoned by the Tsar for the twofold purpose of giving a legislative form to the liberties which he had granted his people and of allaying the revolutionary fever that was coursing through the veins of the nation, the second Russian Parliament did neither. It was shy of work and averse to pacification.

In the Committee rooms, where most of the important business of a legislature is usually transacted, the bulk of the members sat about smoking and chatting. Many absented themselves altogether. The members of the Centre generally were the workers, the members of the Left were the drones, and the specimens of positive legislation which occasionally emerged into the light of day were not encouraging. A bill guaranteeing the right of public meeting was drafted by the Socialists and laid before the Duma. Scorning all legal niceties and scholastic distinctions, this project enacted that all Russians, without distinction of sex or age, should have the right to assemble and hold public meetings without let or hindrance. Persons in authority and private individuals guilty of limiting these rights, or of throwing obstacles in the way of their exercise, should be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, if the acts of which they were convicted did not legally entail a more severe punishment. Consequently, a class of school-children abandoning their hoops and dolls and marbles and assembling in the Nevsky Prospect, in order to discuss an armed rising, could not be legally dispersed by the police. Among the persons whose names are affixed to this original bill is the ex-Vice-Governor of a province, M. Nalivkin, who is now a zealous convert to Socialism.

As those men were among the *élite* of the Duma, the *fruits secs* were the despair of self-respecting Russians. To squander their five dollars a day or to spend it on watches, the ticking of which soothed their ears, or on patent-leather boots, which fascinated their gaze, was a harmless pleasure. Less harmless was

the abuse of parliamentary inviolability, to which all members of the Left were inclined. Inviolability positively turned their heads. The idea that they, who had been theretofore as slaves kneeling and striking the ground with their foreheads before every Jack-in-office, could not now be arrested even for a punishable offence, almost unhinged their reason.

A very curious case of the way in which inviolability was interpreted occurred on May 19th when the police visited the dwelling of Deputy Ozol, a Socialist leader, and found some seventy persons there and piles of compromising documents. Those are the documents which served later on as the basis of the indictment against the Socialist group, and led to the dissolution of the Duma. The object of the secret meeting at Ozol's rooms was, according to the State Attorney, to bring about a military revolt, and the deputies present were alleged to be in communication with the revolutionary "military league" which was seducing soldiers from allegiance. The deputies were not arrested; only the non-parliamentary members of the secret meeting. The authorities respected the inviolability of the former. But the next day Deputy Ozol and his friends protested vehemently against the criminal breach of inviolability involved in the raid on Ozol's rooms, for the dwelling of a deputy is sacred. It amounted, they affirmed, to a breach of stipulation, to an illegal act. Conservative speakers retorted that the conspiracy amounted to something more. But the incident is amusing as an example of how inviolability was construed, and not by one party, but by the majority of the Duma. If the second Duma was not characterized by a capacity for legislative work, neither can it be said to have contributed to the pacification of the country. On the contrary, it helped to fan the embers of disaffection into flame. For afterwards it abolished the exceptional laws against murder, it applauded political crime, it refused to condemn terrorism and a majority of its members shrank from expressing their satisfaction at the Emperor's escape from the hand of assassins. On June 3d the Government asked the Duma to prolong the operation of two temporary laws enacted by the Tsar when there was no Duma. One of these had for its object to punish the eulogy of crime. All who should praise murder, pillage, arson, were to be punished with especial rigor, because they are generally more guilty than the simple-minded individuals who carry out

their teachings. The object of the second law was to enable the Government to rid the army of those recruits who are under police supervision and are usually the apostles of revolution among the troops. But the Duma negatived the demand of the Cabinet by a large majority. Yet M. Stolypin stuck to his guns. He would not hear of dissolution.

Symptoms of indignation were displayed in various parts of the Empire by various groups and classes of the population. They at first appealed to the Premier and then addressed their requests directly to the Tsar. The Emperor was consequently overwhelmed with telegrams, thousands of which came in the form of congratulations on his escape from the hands of assassins, and in the form of petitions that he would dismiss the Duma of which a majority had refused to express joy at his safety or its disapproval of political murder generally. At last these evidences of loyalty took effect and the monarch spoke to his people, at first in a minor key and then in the tones of a real ruler which he was supposed to have forgotten. In his reply to the Council of the Empire, which had displayed an unexpected degree of enthusiasm in its congratulations, the Tsar wrote: "My life is not dear to me, if only Russia live on in glory, peace and well-being." A man in danger, the leader of a little band of soldiers in a hostile country, might utter such words as these. But the head of a nation, at home? They are characteristic of the times.

But the Emperor confined himself to words, while his Premier continued to act, and between the two there was a lack of harmony. In M. Stolypin's plans, allowance had been made for a longer life of the Duma. His ambition, which he cherishes for his country's sake, would seem to consist in having his name linked with the constitutional movement, which has time among its allies. Time is undoubtedly on the side of constitutionalism, federalism, parliamentarism, democracy. Time; but not the present time. And to M. Stolypin the needs of the moment are frequently unknown, unknowable. Shut out from contact with the nation as it lives and works, he is dependent upon the crumbs of information that fall from the green tables of his bureaucrats. A hard-working, conscientious man who lives for his country and his monarch, he cannot achieve the impossible, however noble his aims. How can he become acquainted with the life and needs of the people when he spends his nights at the green table pre-

siding at councils, offering explanations and answering objections? In the daytime he has to listen to reports on this question and on that, concerning riots, mutinies, newspapers, elections, police measures—everything. And all the livelong day he deals only in words.

Even if the Minister-President had adopted efficacious measures to restore order, which, after all, is the first duty of every Government, the feat would be little less than miraculous. But he failed utterly. One of the obstacles to success was the very Duma which ought to have been an auxiliary. The deputies promised land for nothing and the peasants tried to take it. Pillage, riots and the wanton burning of property were among the results. Juries are afraid to bring in verdicts of guilty, even in cases where the evidence is overwhelming. Nowhere is one sure of one's life. Universities, schools, hospitals, homes for children, churchyards, are arsenals where bombs, dynamite, rifles, ammunition, are stored. Even churches afford no sanctuary to peaceful people. Assassins do their fell work there. Numbers of outrages are reported from orthodox places of worship during divine service.

In a word, terrorism was rampant in Russia. The plot against the life of the Tsar, which was among the most thorough schemes of the kind ever matured, marked the turning-point. Even Liberals of a moderate type called loudly for a firm Government after this. And, when a majority of the Duma refused to express satisfaction that the nefarious plot had been foiled, it became obvious to most people that such a Parliament could never work hand in hand with the Ministers of the monarch. If the deputies' persons are to be hedged round with inviolability, people said, is not the person of the monarch to be safeguarded from bombs and revolvers?

Unless we allow for the influence, not of a court camarilla, but of the Tsar himself, acting this time cautiously and resolutely on behalf of the nation, an influence which undoubtedly gave a bias to the course of recent events, we shall miss the force of the far resonant result and its significance for the future. The monarch's comments were first addressed to individuals. The President of the Duma, for instance, who was received in audience by the Tsar, passed an uncomfortable half-hour. Among other things, the Emperor catechized him respecting his severe treatment of

members of the Right. An explanation was forthcoming at once. It was strengthened by the assurance: "I regard with equal dislike the extreme Right and the extreme Left"—a specious saying, but hardly a fair principle. It is as though a policeman coming upon a highwayman and his victim should exclaim: "I am a representative of the authorities and have as little sympathy for one of you as for the other." The Tsar's comment was: "Hm, that is a question of —— taste." In the course of a conversation which he had with certain Conservative members of the Duma on the same day, the mild-mannered monarch uttered a "*Tu quoque, fili mi!*" when speaking of those members of the Duma who had passed into the Opposition camp from the council-room of the Tsar. The words the Emperor is said to have used are these: "As for socialists like Alexinsky and Tseretelli, I say nothing. They know no better. But I cannot forgive my Generals, who lack this excuse." But the most significant conversation of all passed between the Tsar and one of the ultra-Conservative deputies who had been expelled from fifteen sittings of the Duma. "If I am not mistaken you have been expelled from the Duma," his Majesty remarked, interrogatively. "I had that honor, Sire," the deputy replied. The Emperor looked puzzled and after a pause said: "I don't quite understand your meaning." "I mean, Your Majesty, that I was put out for having defended with some warmth the principle of monarchical government. As I acted according to my convictions, I am resolved to continue to defend the same principle in future." "I thank you," was the significant reply.

These narratives were repeated and commented upon. People construed them as an indication that the Emperor would soon resume his rôle of ruler. What Stolypin would then do was not quite clear, but it was assumed that he would resign his post. That was the origin of the rumors of his impending resignation, for which there was just then no tangible ground.

M. Stolypin's letter to the President of the Duma asking for the surrender of eight members on charges, the nature of which had been communicated long before, was the beginning of the end. The demand had been made in March, and had elicited no reply down to June 14th. Two days later the Premier notified the Speaker of his intention to make an important communication at a secret sitting from which the public must be excluded.

That sounded ominous. But even then the deputies did not lose heart. At the historic sitting the Premier announced that treasonable charges based upon trustworthy and copious evidence were made against fifty-five Socialist members of the Duma. As their surrender to the law authorities without delay was a State necessity, would the Duma take the necessary measures? The Duma declined to debate the request, but discussed the question whether it should be handed over to a committee and answered it in the affirmative. Whether the Cabinet would assent to the delay involved appeared doubtful at first, but as the Duma wisely ordered that the Committee should report within twenty-four hours, all misgivings were quieted. Accordingly, on Saturday the Committee met and deliberated, but was unable to come to a decision. The Chairman reported that further documents and explanations were desirable. The Minister of Justice at once despatched an official with documents and instruments to furnish detailed answers to all questions. The official, Kamyshensky, won the hearts of the Committeemen, whose apprehensions vanished. So completely did they vanish that the Committee resolved to take no decision, to hold no plenary sitting that day, but to adjourn until Monday. And the solemn promise to report definitely that evening, and to grant or refuse the surrender of the deputies? That once broken, would a second promise be credited? Apparently it would. For the official sent by the Minister of Justice agreed to return on Monday to the Committee-room and answer further questions. On Monday? Then the Government assented or would assent to the postponement until Monday? Surely; otherwise, how could its representative agree to return on that day? And the members of the Committee went home. Between eleven and twelve at night four of them—all "Cadets"—called on the Prime Minister to ask how he would regard a decision which would surrender a certain number of deputies and refuse the remainder. But it was too late.

For, meanwhile, events which the future historian may be left to narrate had taken place at some distance, and the decision was no longer in M. Stolypin's hands. The Imperial Manifesto which the Premier did not write, and the electoral law which he and the Deputy Minister, Kryshanoffsky, had helped to draft, were being signed and sealed. On Sunday morning they were duly published and the Duma ceased to exist.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

THURSDAY, *July 11.* Of Second Wives and Husbands.

THAT a second wife fares better than one first wedded has become an axiom, the truth of which has been, and no doubt will continue to be, amply confirmed by observation. We wonder why. The effect of gradual change from novel to commonplace relationship is understandable; so also is the result of a widening of mental, moral and physical interest on the one side accompanied by a narrowing on the other, but these are features of existence wholly incidental to and in accord with the immutable laws of nature. How often it happens in these days of women's exchange that, to the most kindly observer or even friend, the first seems vastly superior in all respects to the second companion, despite the abrupt change of attitude on the part of him most concerned from indifference or cruelty towards the former to patient devotion to her presumably fortunate successor!

The greed of man in the possession of woman has been manifest from the beginning. Adam undoubtedly would have taken more wives could he have spared more ribs; and, despite his subsequent exemplary life, barring an excusable tendency after service so strenuous to linger too long with the wine, it is quite improbable that Noah lived as a recluse during those five hundred long years before he begat our ancestral Shem, Ham and Japheth. Even the canny Jacob, after being tricked by the no less crafty Laban, doubtless in meet return for swindling his guileless brother, was unwilling to part with Leah, and put his hands to the plough for seven more long years to get Rachel. Apparently there was little difference in attractiveness between the two sisters. The "tender eyes" of the elder surely must have counterbalanced the beauty of the younger; moreover, Leah gladdened

her husband's heart with many lusty children long before Rachel placed in his arms the little Joseph, who subsequently engaged in predatory activities that in these good days would clearly fall within the provisions of the Interstate Commerce act and subject their doer to stern rebuke for possessing a swollen fortune. Nevertheless, when later Jacob lifted up his eyes, in conformity with his characteristic caution, and beheld the red-headed Esau approaching with four hundred stalwart retainers, he promptly stationed the patient Leah and her children on the firing-line and secluded Rachel and the future young corn monopolist in a protected tent in the rear. We readily perceive, therefore, as previously noted, that from the very beginning and for no apparent reason the second wife was unduly preferred, and so the custom has maintained even to these regenerate days.

Further analysis of the causes of this continuing discrimination might prove interesting, but could hardly serve any useful purpose; so we may as well place the burden upon the authority of Biblical tradition and cease to bear too heavily upon the modern usage, which virtually forbids one to divorce more than one partner without encountering forbidding glances from scrupulous high society of the present day. Since the Puritanic dictum that, having made one's bed, one must lie in it, has proven too restricted for twentieth-century requirements, it is a comfort to reflect that observance of obligations to a second spouse must be maintained to avert the ban of social ostracism.

But what happens to the second husband? To him no truism has been applied and we have never heard his case discussed. Is he, too, regarded more kindly than his predecessor, or is his position as insignificant as that of a bridegroom on a wedding day? Upon this point no data seem to exist, nor have we been able by the most diligent inquiry to extract any trustworthy information from those best qualified to testify. We can only hope that the mere statement of the query may bring forth evidence of fact similar in quantity and quality to that which has afforded us so much enlightenment respecting the true spheres of living American spinsters.

FRIDAY, *July 12.* Of Family Tendencies.

IN the modern haste to rise in the world, and to obliterate one's footsteps, people are apt to overlook the strength that is gained

by standing still; the firmness and sturdiness of growth and the slow but sure development of force and influence. We are inclined to think too much nowadays of the name of the work we do, rather than the way the work is done and the results it begets. If we could but return to the simplicity of Herbert's:

"All may of thee partake:
Nothing can be so mean
Which with his tincture for thy sake
Will not grow bright and clean—

"A servant with this clause
Makes drudgery divine;
Who sweeps a room as for thy laws
Makes that and th' action fine."

There is no joy in life greater than congenial work, and that work is like to be most congenial and most fitting which is the work our fathers did before us. If only we could, by any earthly means, get back to the feeling that no work is in itself more noble than another, and that the whole question of fineness and prestige depends upon the way one's work is done, what a paradise the world would grow to be. Fancy a world where each man is doing the thing he can do best and doing it because he loves it. There is no royal road to such a paradise, but it would seem natural that the most fitting profession for a man should be that of his fathers before him. Who cannot remember the splendid body of English domestic servants, now so rapidly passing away, who handed down their situations from generation to generation and were as deeply implicated in the fortunes of a great family as its own members? It is told of Johann Sebastian Bach that when he was training his great choir in Leipzig and writing the wonderful organ fugues, there were seventeen Bachs, all organists and choirmasters in small German towns. A very successful modern writer tells of his family that of "my great-grandfather's descendants sixteen have published books," and "of my father's children all five have published books."

One remembers the Rossetti family, Maria Francesca, writing her beautiful volume on Dante; Dante Gabriel, following, gifted as few men have ever been as seer, painter, poet; William Michael an industrious writer and critic, and Christina the first of English women poets.

The strength of numbers, of continuing a vocation instead of finding a new one, the avoiding all the difficulties of a fresh initiation, all these tend to lift one at the start when one pursues the family calling. For try as we will, in a democratic country, to believe that a man stands on his own feet only, the truth is that a man is a great deal more than himself; he is his ancestors, with their leanings, their tendencies, their failings, their gains; he is his brothers and his sisters and his cousins, with their successes and their position in life and their reputations, and when he differs from them it is only a casual break in the thread of continuity, a little sporadic side issue. In the main, a man is a part of his own tribe and clan, and can infinitely better follow the same pursuits and accomplish like designs than divorce himself from his past and begin to blaze a new trail.

And how instinctively, in old age, we all turn back to the family and read the records and gather up the traditions, and smile indulgently over the failings, because the same tendencies have warred in our own members. It is when a man remembers the family that he realizes, after all, how little he is a unit in this great universe.

SATURDAY, *July 13.* The Object of Women's Clubs.

THE Woman's Club is here not only to stay but to multiply, and the great question is what its object should be, and then in how far it attains that object. If one ask what it was that marred the life and influence of the old-fashioned much-domesticated woman, we find that the conditions of her life tended to confining her sympathies and interests; to making her useful to a small community rather than to humanity at large. It would be dull, indeed, to overlook the fact, that by just such confining, noble natures were often deepened, and that if they were of value to few people they were, at any rate, of infinite value to those few.

But propaganda, and popular movements and organizations are not for the nobler natures. Noble natures are self-poised and help themselves. No club was needed to help George Eliot write novels, or Rosa Bonheur to paint, or Duse to act, or Florence Nightingale to nurse. Clubs are for the masses who cannot escape deleterious influences except by organized effort. So, if one be called upon to state succinctly the object of women's clubs, one might

say their highest function is to introduce to women the idea of comradeship and cooperation, and to release them from merely personal interests. Women have served men and children, but few women have understood how to serve their kind bravely. They have shown passionate loyalty in the family; but only here and there, in special cases, have they shown loyalty to womanhood. If the congregating of women should ultimately lead to the realization that the welfare of each woman is insolubly bound up with the welfare of all women, what a wide realm of reform we might see! If the comradeship of women should show them that some form of economic independence is necessary to the dignity of each human being, what a world of falseness and favor-currying might be done away with!

Doubtless the humiliating and shocking incident of two little boys who jested and laughed at their mother for buying their father an easy-chair and charging it to him, could only be duplicated in an old-fashioned community, and yet the idea that their mother had a right to any income, or to any expenditure of her own, despite the fact that she had married a poor man and by prudence and industry helped him to become a rich man and had borne his nine children, occurred to them as dangerously new and advanced. They were good sons and loving, but their mother was, after all, only the father's slave, and she had no right, out of his income of some twenty thousand a year, to buy an easy-chair. Perhaps the fact, too, that three little boys who heard their mother say, in response to this tale, "Thank Goodness, I can buy a chair when I want, for I make as much as my husband," all blushed and said shamefacedly, "At least, I'd never mention it," may go to show that the economic position of woman needs some readjustment. So long as woman's independence is gained only by underhand means, by favor or admiration, so long will she remain only a part of a man's goods and chattels and in a position which invites dishonor.

It is another question to ask in how far women's clubs are going to improve the life of women. Their clubs are multiple and exist for multiple purposes. There are social clubs that exist for no better object than to cultivate exclusiveness, for the ignoble object of showing that one woman may flaunt something from which she can debar another. There are clubs which exist to offer women a chance at the more common self-indulgences of

men. There are clubs to encourage women to speak easily in public, to lose whatever timidity and reserve the centuries of domesticity have inculcated. All these purposes, barring the first, which is simply primitive and vulgar, may be shaped to useful ends if only they lead women to respect and uphold true womanhood. There are many civic duties which women by virtue of their training can attend to better than men. There seems no doubt that, in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the children in the State, the influence of woman would be more scrupulous and disinterested than that of man. There is no doubt that the civic cleanliness, convenience and order would be more wisely administered by women. But, chiefly, let us hope that the women's clubs, by bringing women more constantly in contact with each other, may teach them loyalty to each other and induce the feeling of the responsibility of all women for the fate of each woman.

MONDAY, *July 15.* On Making Wills.

THE writing of a will is a serious and a formal matter, and into one a man puts his deliberate and well-reflected intentions. This makes a will stupendously revealing, and to read one over is to come very close to the spirit of the man who wrote: to know his treasures, to understand his feeling toward men and to measure his fitness for adventures among seraphic and angelic beings. The words a man desires to have read when he lies dumb, the gifts he leaves, the grace with which he gives, all these lay bare the spirit, the heart of a disposition as few other things can. For a will is that which is to live after one, and it is written knowing that no wound inflicted can ever be remedied, no neglect repaired.

"Why," said a little child on first hearing of a search for a will—"why, don't they know that he has carried his will up to God?" And yet the final expression of it remains in concrete terms for men to see. How egotism, or miserliness, or conceit, or self-satisfaction can shine out of a will! How little exalting it is in most cases to read wills, and how often they turn us back to the authoritative statement that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle!

The most perfect will we have ever seen was that of one who

had so noble a sense of proportionate values and so keen and perfected a set of perceptions that, reading it, we can readily fancy how easily the bridge was passed from human life to the councils of the angels:

"I, Charles Lounsbury, being of sound mind and disposing memory, do hereby make and publish this, my last will and testament, in order as justly as may be, to distribute my interest in the world among succeeding men.

"That part of my interest which is known in law and recognized in the sheep-bound volumes as my property, being inconsiderable and of no account, I make no disposal of in this my will.

"My right to live, being but a life-estate, is not at my disposal, but these things excepted all else in the world I now proceed to devise and bequeath:

"*Item:* I give to good fathers and mothers, in trust for their children, all good little words of praise, and encouragement, and all quaint pet names and endearments, and I charge said parents to use them justly and generously, as the needs of their children may require.

"*Item:* I leave to children, inclusively, but only for the term of their childhood, all and every, the flowers of the fields, and the blossoms of the woods, with the right to play among them freely, according to the customs of children, warning them at the same time against thistles and thorns. And I devise to children, the banks of the brooks, and the golden sands beneath the waters thereof and the odors of the willows that dip therein, and the white clouds that float high over the giant trees. And I leave the children the long, long days to be merry in, in a thousand ways, and the night and the moon and the train of the Milky Way to wonder at, but subject, nevertheless, to the rights hereinafter given to lovers.

"*Item:* I devise to boys, jointly, all the useful idle fields and commons where ball may be played; all pleasant waters where one may swim; all snow-clad hills where one may coast, and all streams and ponds where one may fish, or where, when grim winter comes, one may skate; to have and to hold the same for the period of their boyhood. And all meadows with the clover blossoms and butterflies thereof; the woods and their appurtenances; the squirrels and birds, and echoes and strange noises, and all distant places which may be visited, together with the adventures there found. And I give to said boys each his own place at the fireside at night, with all pictures that may be seen in the burning wood, to enjoy without let or hindrance and without any incumbrance of care.

"*Item:* To lovers, I devise their imaginary world with whatever they may need: as the stars of the sky; the red roses by the wall; the bloom of the hawthorn; the sweet strains of music and aught else they may desire to figure to each other; the lastingness and beauty of their love.

"*Item:* To young men, jointly, I devise and bequeath all boisterous, inspiring sports of rivalry, and I give to them the disdain of weakness and undaunted confidence in their own strength. Though they are rude, I give to them the power to make lasting friendships, and of possessing companions, and to them exclusively I give all merry songs and brave choruses, to sing with lusty voices.

"*Item:* And to those who are no longer children or youths or lovers, I leave memory, and I bequeath to them the volumes of the poems of Burns and Shakespeare and of other poets, if there be others, to the end that they may live over the old days again, freely and fully, without tithe or diminution.

"*Item:* To our loved ones with snowy crowns I bequeath the happiness of old age, the love and gratitude of their children until they fall asleep."

It is strange and ironical comment upon human institutions that this will should have come from an insane asylum.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

MARK TWAIN.

For information concerning this distinguished contributor, the reader is referred to the body of the REVIEW, which, during the present year, will contain chapters selected from his Autobiography.

SIR OLIVER LODGE,

the eminent English scientist, has been Principal of the University of Birmingham since 1900. He was born in Staffordshire in 1851, and educated in Newport (Salop) Grammar School and University College, London. From 1881 to 1900 he was Professor of Physics in University College, Liverpool. He was Rumford Medallist of the Royal Society in 1898, and Romanes Lecturer at Oxford in 1903. He holds honorary degrees from several of the leading British universities, and he has published a number of scientific treatises of high authority, including "Elementary Mechanics," "Modern Views of Electricity," "Pioneers of Science," "Signalling without Wires," and "Lightning Conductors and Lightning Guards."

FRANCIS HENRY SKRINE

was born in 1847, and entered the Bengal Civil Service in

1868. He has a splendid record for bravery and efficiency displayed in service during more than one Indian famine, and he has held many posts of distinction in India. He retired in 1897, and has travelled much in the Orient. Among his published works are "An Indian Journalist," "The Heart of Asia," "The Expansion of Russia."

AUSTIN HARRISON

is an English journalist who has served in various European capitals as correspondent. As Berlin correspondent of this REVIEW, which post he formerly held, he had exceptional opportunities to study closely the press of the German Empire.

ARCHIBALD S. HURD

is an English writer who has made a special study of national and international naval affairs. For ten years he resided in Plymouth, during which time he was intimately associated with the fleet. For six years he was in editorial control of the "Naval and Military Record," the weekly paper most widely read on the ships of the British navy. While travelling in Europe and during the stay of foreign ships in British waters he has seen much of other fleets, especially those of Germany, Japan, Russia and the United States.

CHARLES MOREAU HARGER

is a member of the faculty of the University of Kansas, and has special opportunities for studying the spirit of the new West. He is at the head of the Department of Journalism in the University of Kansas.

GEORGE GRISWOLD HILL

was born in Canada and educated in Illinois. He is well known as a Washington correspondent, and is at present in the Washington bureau of the New York "Tribune." He has edited papers in various parts of the country, and is a close student of political conditions.

GEORGE S. BATCHELLER

graduated at the Harvard Law School in 1857, was admitted to the bar in the following year, and practised law in Sara-

toga Springs until 1862, when he entered the army as captain of the 115th Regiment of New York Volunteers. Having been taken prisoner and exchanged, he took part in the Virginia campaigns, at Hilton Head, and in the siege of Charleston. In 1863, he was Deputy Provost-Marshal-General in the Department of the South, and in 1865 Inspector-General of the Volunteers and the National Guard of the State of New York. After the war, he resumed practice at Saratoga, but in 1875 he was appointed, by President Grant, Judge of the International Tribunal of Egypt, and was chosen by his colleagues as Presiding Justice. In 1885, he resigned, and, returning home, filled a number of responsible offices under the Government. At the request of the Egyptian Government, he was again appointed to the International Tribunal in 1898, and was promoted by President Roosevelt to the Supreme Court of Appeals in 1902.

Olivia Howard Dunbar

was born at West Bridgewater, Massachusetts, and graduated from Smith College in 1894. After several years of newspaper work in Massachusetts and New York, she devoted herself to fiction and critical work. She has contributed to the "Century," "Harper's" and other magazines.

Brander Matthews

is one of the best known of living American authors. He was born in New Orleans in 1852, and studied at Columbia College, where he graduated in 1871. He was admitted to the New York bar, but he turned from law to literature, to which, for many years, he has devoted an indefatigable and versatile pen. In 1892, he was appointed Professor of Dramatic Literature in Columbia University.

Adriaan Schade van Westrum

was born at Amsterdam, Holland, in 1865, and came to this country in 1885, taking up literary work two years later. He was for seven years editor of "Book Chat," then assistant editor of "The Critic," and assistant literary editor of "The Mail and Express," succeeding, on the death of Richard

Henry Stoddard, to the literary editorship. Since April of this year he has been in charge of the literary department of "The New York Commercial." He has written two novelettes and a number of short stories, and is a constant contributor to periodical literature.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW
No. DCXX.

AUGUST 2, 1907.

CHAPTERS FROM MY AUTOBIOGRAPHY—XXI.*

BY MARK TWAIN.

PREFATORY NOTE.—Mr. Clemens began to write his autobiography many years ago, and he continues to add to it day by day. It was his original intention to permit no publication of his memoirs until after his death; but, after leaving "Pier No. 70," he concluded that a considerable portion might now suitably be given to the public. It is that portion, garnered from the quarter-million of words already written, which will appear in this REVIEW during the present year. No part of the autobiography will be published in book form during the lifetime of the author.—EDITOR N. A. R.

From Susy's Biography of Me.

Feb. 12, '86.

Mamma and I have both been very much troubled of late because papa since he has been publishing Gen. Grant's book has seemed to forget his own books and work entirely, and the other evening as papa and I were promonading up and down the library he told me that he didn't expect to write but one more book, and then he was ready to give up work altogether, die, or do anything, he said that he had written more than he had ever expected to, and the only book that he had been pertickularly anxious to write was one locked up in the safe down stairs, not yet published.†

But this intended future of course will never do, and although papa usually holds to his own opinions and intents with outsiders, when

*Copyright, 1906, by HARPER & BROTHERS. All Rights Reserved.

† It isn't yet. Title of it, "Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven."—S. L. C.

Copyright, 1907, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All Rights Reserved.

mamma realy desires anything and says that it must be, papa allways gives up his plans (at least so far) and does as she says is right (and she is usually right, if she dissagrees with him at all). It was because he knew his great tendency to being convinced by her, that he published without her knowledge that article in the "Christian Union" concerning the government of children. So judging by the proofs of past years, I think that we will be able to persuade papa to go back to work as before, and not leave off writing with the end of his next story. Mamma says that she sometimes feels, and I do too, that she would rather have papa depend on his writing for a living than to have him think of giving it up.

[*Dictated, November 8, 1906.*] I have a defect of a sort which I think is not common; certainly I hope it isn't: it is rare that I can call before my mind's eye the form and face of either friend or enemy. If I should make a list, now, of persons whom I know in America and abroad—say to the number of even an entire thousand—it is quite unlikely that I could reproduce five of them in my mind's eye. Of my dearest and most intimate friends, I could name eight whom I have seen and talked with four days ago, but when I try to call them before me they are formless shadows. Jean has been absent, this past eight or ten days, in the country, and I wish I could reproduce her in the mirror of my mind, but I can't do it.

It may be that this defect is not constitutional, but a result of lifelong absence of mind and indolent and inadequate observation. Once or twice in my life it has been an embarrassment to me. Twenty years ago, in the days of Susy's Biography of Me, there was a dispute one morning at the breakfast-table about the color of a neighbor's eyes. I was asked for a verdict, but had to confess that if that valued neighbor and old friend had eyes I was not sure that I had ever seen them. It was then mockingly suggested that perhaps I didn't even know the color of the eyes of my own family, and I was required to shut my own at once and testify. I was able to name the color of Mrs. Clemens's eyes, but was not able to even suggest a color for Jean's, or Clara's, or Susy's.

All this talk is suggested by Susy's remark: "The other evening as papa and I were promonading up and down the library." Down to the bottom of my heart I am thankful that I can see *that* picture! And it is not dim, but stands out clear in the unfaded light of twenty-one years ago. In those days

Susy and I used to "promonade" daily up and down the library, with our arms about each other's waists, and deal in intimate communion concerning affairs of State, or the deep questions of human life, or our small personal affairs.

It was quite natural that I should think I had written myself out when I was only fifty years old, for everybody who has ever written has been smitten with that superstition at about that age. Not even yet have I really written myself out. I have merely stopped writing because dictating is pleasanter work, and because dictating has given me a strong aversion to the pen, and because two hours of talking per day is enough, and because— But I am only damaging my mind with this digging around in it for pretexts where no pretext is needed, and where the simple truth is for this one time better than any invention, in this small emergency. I shall never finish my five or six unfinished books, for the reason that by forty years of slavery to the pen I have earned my freedom. I detest the pen and I wouldn't use it again to sign the death warrant of my dearest enemy.

[*Dictated, March 8, 1906.*] For thirty years, I have received an average of a dozen letters a year from strangers who remember me, or whose fathers remember me as boy and young man. But these letters are almost always disappointing. I have not known these strangers nor their fathers. I have not heard of the names they mention; the reminiscences to which they call attention have had no part in my experience; all of which means that these strangers have been mistaking me for somebody else. But at last I have the refreshment, this morning, of a letter from a man who deals in names that were familiar to me in my boyhood. The writer encloses a newspaper clipping which has been wandering through the press for four or five weeks, and he wants to know if Capt. Tonkray, lately deceased, was (as stated in the clipping) the original of "Huckleberry Finn."

I have replied that "Huckleberry Finn" was Frank F. As this inquirer evidently knew the Hannibal of the forties, he will easily recall Frank. Frank's father was at one time Town Drunkard, an exceedingly well-defined and unofficial office of those days. He succeeded "General" Gaines, and for a time he was sole and only incumbent of the office; but afterward Jimmy Finn proved competency and disputed the place with him,

so we had two town drunkards at one time—and it made as much trouble in that village as Christendom experienced in the fourteenth century when there were two Popes at the same time.

In "Huckleberry Finn" I have drawn Frank exactly as he was. He was ignorant, unwashed, insufficiently fed; but he had as good a heart as ever any boy had. His liberties were totally unrestricted. He was the only really independent person—boy or man—in the community, and by consequence he was tranquilly and continuously happy, and was envied by all the rest of us. We liked him; we enjoyed his society. And as his society was forbidden us by our parents, the prohibition trebled and quadrupled its value, and therefore we sought and got more of his society than of any other boy's. I heard, four years ago, that he was Justice of the Peace in a remote village in the State of ——, and was a good citizen and was greatly respected.

During Jimmy Finn's term he (Jimmy) was not exclusive; he was not finical; he was not hypercritical; he was largely and handsomely democratic—and slept in the deserted tan-yard with the hogs. My father tried to reform him once, but did not succeed. My father was not a professional reformer. In him the spirit of reform was spasmodic. It only broke out now and then, with considerable intervals between. Once he tried to reform Injun Joe. That also was a failure. It was a failure, and we boys were glad. For Injun Joe, drunk, was interesting and a benefaction to us, but Injun Joe, sober, was a dreary spectacle. We watched my father's experiments upon him with a good deal of anxiety, but it came out all right and we were satisfied. Injun Joe got drunk oftener than before, and became intolerably interesting.

I think that in "Tom Sawyer" I starved Injun Joe to death in the cave. But that may have been to meet the exigencies of romantic literature. I can't remember now whether the real Injun Joe died in the cave or out of it, but I do remember that the news of his death reached me at a most unhappy time—that is to say, just at bedtime on a summer night when a prodigious storm of thunder and lightning accompanied by a deluging rain that turned the streets and lanes into rivers, caused me to repent and resolve to lead a better life. I can remember those awful thunder-bursts and the white glare of the lightning yet, and the wild lashing of the rain against the window-panes. By

my teachings I perfectly well knew what all that wild riot was for—Satan had come to get Injun Joe. I had no shadow of doubt about it. It was the proper thing when a person like Injun Joe was required in the under world, and I should have thought it strange and unaccountable if Satan had come for him in a less impressive way. With every glare of lightning I shrivelled and shrunk together in mortal terror, and in the interval of black darkness that followed I poured out my lamentings over my lost condition, and my supplications for just one more chance, with an energy and feeling and sincerity quite foreign to my nature.

But in the morning I saw that it was a false alarm and concluded to resume business at the old stand and wait for another reminder.

The axiom says "History repeats itself." A week or two ago Mr. Blank-Blank dined with us. At dinner he mentioned a circumstance which flashed me back over about sixty years and landed me in that little bedroom on that tempestuous night, and brought to my mind how creditable to me was my conduct through the whole night, and how barren it was of moral spot or fleck during that entire period: he said Mr. X was sexton, or something, of the Episcopal church in his town, and had been for many years the competent superintendent of all the church's worldly affairs, and was regarded by the whole congregation as a stay, a blessing, a priceless treasure. But he had a couple of defects—not large defects, but they seemed large when flung against the background of his profoundly religious character: he drank a good deal, and he could outswear a brakeman. A movement arose to persuade him to lay aside these vices, and after consulting with his pal, who occupied the same position as himself in the other Episcopal church, and whose defects were duplicates of his own and had inspired regret in the congregation he was serving, they concluded to try for reform—not wholesale, but half at a time. They took the liquor pledge and waited for results. During nine days the results were entirely satisfactory, and they were recipients of many compliments and much congratulation. Then on New-year's eve they had business a mile and a half out of town, just beyond the State line. Everything went well with them that evening in the bar-room of the inn—but at last the celebration of the occasion by

those villagers came to be of a burdensome nature. It was a bitter cold night and the multitudinous hot toddies that were circulating began by and by to exert a powerful influence upon the new prohibitionists. At last X's friend remarked,

"X, does it occur to you that we are *outside the diocese?*"

That ended reform No. 1. Then they took a chance in reform No. 2. For a while that one prospered, and they got much applause. I now reach the incident which sent me back a matter of sixty years, as I have remarked a while ago.

One morning Mr. Blank-Blank met X on the street and said,

"You have made a gallant struggle against those defects of yours. I am aware that you failed on No. 1, but I am also aware that you are having better luck with No. 2."

"Yes," X said; "No. 2 is all right and sound up to date, and we are full of hope."

Blank-Blank said, "X, of course you have your troubles like other people, but they never show on the outside. I have never seen you when you were not cheerful. Are you always cheerful? Really always cheerful?"

"Well, no," he said, "no, I can't say that I am always cheerful, but—well, you know that kind of a night that comes: *say*—you wake up 'way in the night and the whole world is sunk in gloom and there are storms and earthquakes and all sorts of disasters in the air threatening, and you get cold and clammy; and when that happens to me I recognize how sinful I am and it all goes clear to my heart and wrings it and I have such terrors and terrors!—oh, they are indescribable, those terrors that assail me, and I slip out of bed and get on my knees and pray and pray and promise that I *will* be good, if I can only have another chance. And then, you know, in the morning the sun shines out *so* lovely, and the birds sing and the whole world is so beautiful, and—*b' God, I rally!*"

Now I will quote a brief paragraph from this letter which I have a minute ago spoken of. The writer says:

You no doubt are at a loss to know who I am. I will tell you. In my younger days I was a resident of Hannibal, Mo., and you and I were schoolmates attending Mr. Dawson's school along with Sam and Will Bowen and Andy Fuqua and others whose names I have forgotten. I was then about the smallest boy in school, for my age, and they called me little Aleck for short.

I only dimly remember him, but I knew those other people as well as I knew the town drunkards. I remember Dawson's schoolhouse perfectly. If I wanted to describe it I could save myself the trouble by conveying the description of it to these pages from "Tom Sawyer." I can remember the drowsy and inviting summer sounds that used to float in through the open windows from that distant boy-Paradise, Cardiff Hill (Holliday's Hill), and mingle with the murmurs of the studying pupils and make them the more dreary by the contrast. I remember Andy Fuqua, the oldest pupil—a man of twenty-five. I remember the youngest pupil, Nannie Owsley, a child of seven. I remember George Robards, eighteen or twenty years old, the only pupil who studied Latin. I remember—in some cases vividly, in others vaguely—the rest of the twenty-five boys and girls. I remember Mr. Dawson very well. I remember his boy, Theodore, who was as good as he could be. In fact, he was inordinately good, extravagantly good, offensively good, detestably good—and he had pop-eyes—and I would have drowned him if I had had a chance. In that school we were all about on an equality, and, so far as I remember, the passion of envy had no place in our hearts, except in the case of Arch Fuqua—the other one's brother. Of course we all went barefoot in the summer-time. Arch Fuqua was about my own age—ten or eleven. In the winter we could stand him, because he wore shoes then, and his great gift was hidden from our sight and we were enabled to forget it. But in the summer-time he was a bitterness to us. He was our envy, for he could double back his big toe and let it fly and you could hear it snap thirty yards. There was not another boy in the school that could approach this feat. He had not a rival as regards a physical distinction—except in Theodore Eddy, who could work his ears like a horse. But he was no real rival, because you couldn't hear him work his ears; so all the advantage lay with Arch Fuqua.

I am not done with Dawson's school; I will return to it in a later chapter.

[*Dictated at Hamilton, Bermuda, January 6, 1907.*] "That reminds me." In conversation we are always using that phrase, and seldom or never noticing how large a significance it bears. It stands for a curious and interesting fact, to wit: that sleeping or waking, dreaming or talking, the thoughts which swarm

through our heads are almost constantly, almost continuously, accompanied by a like swarm of reminders of incidents and episodes of our past. A man can never know what a large traffic this commerce of association carries on in our minds until he sets out to write his autobiography; he then finds that a thought is seldom born to him that does not immediately remind him of some event, large or small, in his past experience. Quite naturally these remarks remind me of various things, among others this: that sometimes a thought, by the power of association, will bring back to your mind a lost word or a lost name which you have not been able to recover by any other process known to your mental equipment. Yesterday we had an instance of this. Rev. Joseph H. Twichell is with me on this flying trip to Bermuda. He was with me on my last visit to Bermuda, and to-day we were trying to remember when it was. We thought it was somewhere in the neighborhood of thirty years ago, but that was as near as we could get at the date. Twichell said that the landlady in whose boarding-house we sojourned in that ancient time could doubtless furnish us the date, and we must look her up. We wanted to see her, anyway, because she and her blooming daughter of eighteen were the only persons whose acquaintance we had made at that time, for we were travelling under fictitious names, and people who wear aliases are not given to seeking society and bringing themselves under suspicion. But at this point in our talk we encountered an obstruction: we could not recall the landlady's name. We hunted all around through our minds for that name, using all the customary methods of research, but without success; the name was gone from us, apparently permanently. We finally gave the matter up, and fell to talking about something else. The talk wandered from one subject to another, and finally arrived at Twichell's school-days in Hartford—the Hartford of something more than half a century ago—and he mentioned several of his schoolmasters, dwelling with special interest upon the peculiarities of an aged one named Olney. He remarked that Olney, humble village schoolmaster as he was, was yet a man of superior parts, and had published text-books which had enjoyed a wide currency in America in their day. I said I remembered those books, and had studied Olney's Geography in school when I was a boy. Then Twichell said,

"That reminds me—our landlady's name was a name that was associated with school-books of some kind or other fifty or sixty years ago. I wonder what it was. I believe it began with K."

Association did the rest, and did it instantly. I said,

"Kirkham's Grammar!"

That settled it. Kirkham was the name; and we went out to seek for the owner of it. There was no trouble about that, for Bermuda is not large, and is like the earlier Garden of Eden, in that everybody in it knows everybody else, just as it was in the serpent's headquarters in Adam's time. We easily found Miss Kirkham—she that had been the blooming girl of a generation before—and she was still keeping boarders; but her mother had passed from this life. She settled the date for us, and did it with certainty, by help of a couple of uncommon circumstances, events of that ancient time. She said we had sailed from Bermuda on the 24th of May, 1877, which was the day on which her only nephew was born—and he is now thirty years of age. The other unusual circumstance—she called it an unusual circumstance, and I didn't say anything—was that on that day the Rev. Mr. Twichell (bearing the assumed name of Peters) had made a statement to her which she regarded as a fiction. I remembered the circumstance very well. We had bidden the young girl good-by and had gone fifty yards, perhaps, when Twichell said he had forgotten something (I doubted it) and must go back. When he rejoined me he was silent, and this alarmed me, because I had not seen an example of it before. He seemed quite uncomfortable, and I asked him what the trouble was. He said he had been inspired to give the girl a pleasant surprise, and so had gone back and said to her—

"That young fellow's name is not Wilkinson—that's Mark Twain."

She did not lose her mind; she did not exhibit any excitement at all, but said quite simply, quite tranquilly,

"Tell it to the marines, Mr. Peters—if that should happen to be *your* name."

It was very pleasant to meet her again. We were white-headed, but she was not; in the sweet and unvexed spiritual atmosphere of the Bermudas one does not achieve gray hairs at forty-eight.

I had a dream last night, and of course it was born of association, like nearly everything else that drifts into a person's head, asleep or awake. On board ship, on the passage down, Twichell was talking about the swiftly developing possibilities of aerial navigation, and he quoted those striking verses of Tennyson's which forecast a future when air-borne vessels of war shall meet and fight above the clouds and redden the earth below with a rain of blood. This picture of carnage and blood and death reminded me of something which I had read a fortnight ago—statistics of railway accidents compiled by the United States Government, wherein the appalling fact was set forth that on our 200,000 miles of railway we annually kill 10,000 persons outright and injure 80,000. The war-ships in the air suggested the railway horrors, and three nights afterward the railway horrors suggested my dream. The work of association was going on in my head, unconsciously, all that time. It was an admirable dream, what there was of it.

In it I saw a funeral procession; I saw it from a mountain peak; I saw it crawling along and curving here and there, serpentlike, through a level vast plain. I seemed to see a hundred miles of the procession, but neither the beginning of it nor the end of it was within the limits of my vision. The procession was in ten divisions, each division marked by a sombre flag, and the whole represented ten years of our railway activities in the accident line; each division was composed of 80,000 cripples, and was bearing its own year's 10,000 mutilated corpses to the grave: in the aggregate 800,000 cripples and 100,000 dead, drenched in blood!

MARK TWAIN.

(To be Continued.)

THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.

BY SIR OLIVER LODGE.

I.

THE teaching of religion to small children is a difficult subject in itself and a subject also of unfortunate controversy.

There are those who say it should be dogmatic; that however reasonably, and with whatever qualifications, propositions may be laid before adults, children require and can assimilate crisp and definite dogma.

There is probably some truth in this contention, but it may easily be misunderstood. Statements concerning fact, if preluded and supported by explanations and illustrations, may properly be summarized in dogmatic form; and in that form may be learned by heart; but elaborate theories, of the nature of ecclesiastical doctrines, are surely not appropriate for children. Dogma, however, cannot be excluded: children want to know something about the nature of man, of the universe and of God; they ask questions on these topics, and they ask questions about nature: one part of religious teaching is to answer these inquiries. Idle and impudent questioning should be discouraged —children are sharp enough to presume, if their sallies are considered amusing; they ought to know, and do know well enough, that these are great and serious topics—but reverent curiosity should be fostered; and then an attempt should be made to satisfy it, so far as we are able, in accordance with all that we know of reality; expressing as much of truth as we think they can understand, and indicating uncertainty where it admittedly exists.

The ultimate object of religious training must be to implant such ideas and habits as shall result in a happy childhood and a sound and useful life. We should not subordinate the life

of the child, too entirely, to the life of the adult; it is a period of preparation truly, but it is something more than that; it is a life-period of value in itself. It is a time of considerable subjective length, and it should be allowed due weight and prominence in the scheme of existence.

At the same time, a respect for "grown-up" people is a natural childish instinct which ought not lightly to be destroyed. The first real gods of a child are his parents, however ungodlike they may be; and hence arises that feeling of security, and nearness of protection and law, which is one of the luxuries of childhood: and, I may add, one of the responsibilities of parenthood.

It is frequently maintained that children should have given to them, by the State, the religion of their parents. Some parents would be better if they had the religion of their children; and we have high authority for the idea that it is possible for adults to learn something from an unsophisticated child,—that childhood, in fact, may be higher in some respects than a subsequent condition.

In too many cases, in our barbarous state of society at present, children do have the religion of their parents; and a great pity it is. In some cases, it is a slum religion of a dangerous and troublesome kind. In another set of extreme cases, not nearly so frequent, it is a religion of mere greed and selfishness and social apathy,—a religion of the trough and stye. For "religion" is the outcome of our ideas about the universe: it is our response to all that we know, consciously or subconsciously, of cosmic law. We all have ideals, unformulated though they may be: our conduct frequently falls short of them; it can seldom or never surpass them.

But, looking at the matter on its best side, if children are to have the religion of the parents, then the parents are the right people to give it. They cannot expect to have it precisely given by deputy.

It is curious how, while the family is the unit for many things, it is not the unit for national education. It is isolated for most domestic purposes, there seems no idea of cooperative management in small matters: there is no cooperative cooking, not much cooperative washing, very little feeding in common, though it is the custom thus to drink. But education and the care of children are largely undertaken cooperatively: a sort of joint-stock

arrangement is good enough for that. It seems to be thought that, though potatoes must be peeled and cooked separately, each household with its own fire and utensils, children can wisely be dealt with by the gross.

Now, it is very likely that cooking for a whole street might be economically and favorably carried out; and a few common social eating-houses for a small district, as at some places abroad, might not be a bad thing; but to undertake the joint education of all the children in such a district, to take them at an early age from their mothers, in order that the said mothers may earn something wherewith to pay the rent, including rates, and otherwise support the family, is not perhaps a perfectly good arrangement. "Our poverty but not our will consents" to it.

Small children require individual attention. In the family, in the ideal family, I mean, they get it: that seems to be the Providential or natural plan; but the conditions of average family life throughout, shall we say, England, are so bad that the State has to step in, and act as foster-parent: though a line is drawn at supplying them with bodily food. Only their minds may be treated by the community.

In discussing religious teaching, we are considering what we term their "souls"; and, however many clouds of glory the average poor child may be trailing, when he arrives on this planet, he has not to wait very long before every trace is completely lost; and "the vision splendid" fades into the light of common day, at a very early stage, I fear, in the infancy of the street urchin. It is a lamentable result of town life, and the struggle for existence, in our complex civilization. I am not sure that it is not a wicked and blasphemous condition of things. I incline to think that it is a bad investment from every point of view; that not only must it be regarded with disfavor in high quarters, but that the resulting outcome is in many respects ruinous and wretched, and such as to torment the sympathies and spoil the lives of all but the utterly thoughtless and selfish.

That nation, or colony, which could ensure that its children should spend their short and vital early years among healthy, happy surroundings, suited to their time of life and state of development, and leading to a good robust serviceable manhood and womanhood,—that nation would in a few generations stand out from among the rest of the world as something almost

superhuman. The idea seems remote, the path towards its attainment too difficult; yes, but that is partly because too few realize it as an ideal, too few are aware of any such problem before them. They have no such aim: and without proper aim we are not likely to hit the mark. I do not believe that the problem is insoluble: I believe that some day it will be solved. Human life is not always going to be the failure that it is at present. Crime and vice and besotted stupidity are not always going to have it their own way. We owe it to the children to give them a fair and decent chance of understanding the world, and of living in it with pleasure and human profit.

People will say that it would cost too much. Nothing of the kind can cost too much! What is the meaning of life? What is this planet for? Consider those questions, and then consider whether as yet we have learned, or even effectively tried, to answer them in any reasonable manner: whether we are not hopelessly befogged by custom and buried beneath the relics of barbarous times. Taking control over the processes of evolution, in one way or another, is part of our serious duty: and no such duty is really divorced from practical religion.

I urge that attention to, and instruction in, physical conditions is a part of true religious teaching; and that many social reforms —such as purifying and revolutionizing the physical atmosphere of towns, such as reafforesting and beautifying waste and desolate places, such as restoring the humanizing influence of simple wholesome natural surroundings—must have an indirect but incalculable moral effect, and will indirectly aid the work of religion: a work which is now hampered and frustrated by untoward surroundings and other remediable and unnecessary defects.

However, we must leave the huge and complicated question of a better general social organization—though that ought to be the outcome of every religious belief if it is healthy—and limit ourselves to the consideration of how the average home or school can best be made a place of religious education. What should we teach our own children? What sort of religion is suited to the child's mind? What will bring forth the best fruit? For, surely, it is by the fruit of a good and developed life that any system must ultimately be judged. Good and faithful service is the end and aim.

It is not natural to the child to think that the world exists for his pleasure and profit; it is natural to him to wish to be of use. He is happy when he feels that he is helpful; and the docility with which children flock to the monotonous grind of wage-earnings, apparently without question of its utility, is pathetic. There are only a few children, or youths rather, who without social rebuke are permitted to regard the world from a wholly selfish point of view, if they choose; but these are in a non-natural condition,—they need not exert themselves for a living—they inherit the religion of their parents.

II.

Now let us consider what it is that we are aiming at in teaching little children. I asked an experienced and somewhat inspired teacher of infants (the Principal of the Edgbaston Kindergarten) for some ideas on this subject; and she was good enough to send me a few notes or thoughts, which, though not intended for publication, I propose to reproduce. They are as follows:

"The religious education of little children ought to have the attributes of *Indirectness* and *Continuousness*. It should be indirect,—that is to say, not always consciously given under the name of religion: and continuous,—not once a week, or on specified occasions only, but always, and in the simple acts of life.

"By 'religious education' I mean an effort on the part of the adult to form such habits of body and mind, and such aspirations of soul, as shall tend towards a clean heart and the ultimate condition of a realization of unity with the Divine Spirit of Good. We worship this spirit—God—through his manifestations in Man, in Animals and in Plants, and in the expression (craftsmanship) of man which is (or ought to be) Art.

"Accordingly, a teacher of little children is teaching religion when she tries to form the elementary habits of cleanliness, order, punctuality and courtesy. (These qualities are necessary if we wish to show love to our fellows.) She is teaching religion when she helps her children to make animals—wild or domestic—happy and responsive. She is teaching religion when she helps her children to take care of their gardens, plants and flowers,—to leave beautiful things to grow in their own green world, to exercise self-control in a country lane in June.

"When a teacher touches her class with a beautiful song, picture or poem,—the history of our planet and other planets, and all the natural lore of the world—she is giving religious teaching. If she turns the instinct of destruction into one of creation, if she helps a self-centred child to make himself useful by preparing the accessories for the next lesson, if she teaches her pupils to respect persons and property,—all this is part of religion.

"Above all, the imagination, the emotions and the sense of reverence for Beauty—anything which awakens these qualities—must be religious teaching; for are they not the roads leading to love, which is God?

"And all these things are taught not by words, but by doings—by action. They are not taught one day and left out of the next day's plan; they are not taught by one special kind of action, but by constant repetition under all the different forms which are supplied by the natural activities of a sane and happy life in the school or home."

III.

Now, clearly, this kind of practical every-day real education is or should be the work of an ideal home, as well as of a school. It is the homes that make our children what they are—for better, for worse,—and parents cannot really throw their responsibilities on others, however much they may try.

But in addition to all this practical and homely teaching, it will be said, there must be some doctrinal teaching, too: there must be some instruction in the elements of revealed or spiritual or theoretical religion.

Yes, that is generally admitted—though not universally. But, whatever doctrines are imparted, I venture to maintain that religious theory for children should not be based extensively on the doctrine of sin: it is not a natural or wholesome idea for them, as a foundation for religion, and its conventional treatment at revival meetings is apt to be terrifying. Children are not wicked, in the sense intended by those denunciations; they have their fits of temper, and they may be bad and disobedient, like animals; they may be even vicious, like them,—though, probably, that is an artificially made condition; moreover, if not properly instructed in social virtues, they may imitate their remote ancestors in lying and theft, and they may certainly be "spoiled"; but, when small, they must be largely the product of heredity and environment, and it is not fair to inflict on them theological doctrines concerning sin.

Considered from the point of view of evolution, healthy infancy under favorable conditions must be regarded as a period of innocency. It may be a question, therefore, as to what need there is for Theology at all. Why either frighten them with, or protect them from, ideas like those of the Pilgrim's Progress, about hell and Apollyon, the burden of guilt, the wrath to come, and the like? One answer is, I think, because such ideas are

natural to undeveloped humanity; all savages have frightened themselves by vague imaginings, by sacrifices or propitiations, have sought to mitigate Divine wrath; and the untaught or badly taught notions of children about the universe are liable to be *more* terrifying than what we conceive to be the reality, not less. The childish atmosphere is full of potential superstition; and nurses or companions are sure to waken it sooner or later. The fact is, you do not avoid superstition by eliminating the idea of God. A writer, whom I shall quote directly, says: "It is clear that, unless you fortify a child against the fancies inherited from a dim and partly savage past, by teaching the clear protective personality [or, rather, aspect] of God, you leave it a prey to dark thoughts and terrible fear."

It is idle to suppose that a child can long be screened from the religious ideas of mankind; it is our business, therefore, to see that the teaching is of a right and helpful, and, so far as we know, true kind. Moreover, the Bible is part of their heritage, to which they have a right to be introduced; and they should also be helped to realize the advantages of belonging to some recognized community, for fellowship and brotherly help.

Here, however, enter difficulties. We are face to face just now with two momentous problems. How far does the Bible still hold its place as the supreme treasure-house of religious and ethical teaching? And of what value are the traditional rites and ceremonies, the outward symbols of various religious beliefs, in the spiritual education of our children?

To consider the latter question briefly first: It is unfortunately manifest that, in admitting, and still more in emphasizing, the value of ceremonies, we may get dangerously near to the arena of sectarian conflict, and drearily far from the spirit of true religion. Nevertheless, it is true that the religious instinct in most people, like the artistic instinct, struggles for some definite and appropriate expression in incarnate form. And though it seems probable that the religious instinct, as it strengthens within us, may ultimately urge us to materialize or express our beliefs through the higher organization of social life, rather than through the machinery of ecclesiastical ritual, yet it must be admitted that certain church influences—such as the definite occasion for attention to spiritual things, the fellowship of spirit, and the association of certain simple human acts with high

thoughts,—give every religious sect a powerful opportunity for aiding the development of a child's soul, if they can be rightly utilized.

To pass to the other point—the value of the Bible in children's education: In so far as the Bible is unsuitable, or too grown up (and seeing that it is the literature of a people extending over many centuries, such unsuitability is not in the least surprising), the compilation by Mr. Mackail called "*Biblium Innocentium*" may be mentioned as an attractive temporary substitute or introduction. A recent book by an experienced teacher, Mr. Mitchell, recently of the University Men's Training College at Liverpool, now a vicar in Sheffield, called "How to Teach the Bible" (Williams & Norgate), contains some useful hints and elementary information. Among the hints I select the following two points: (1) That the Gospels are from their structure ready fashioned for the work of the teacher,—wonderfully perfect, he says, from this point of view; and (2) that the Gospel of Mark is a short, swiftly moving dramatic history; divisible perhaps into two parts, the first mainly relating to events in Galilee, previous to acceptance of the name of the Messiah; and the second half relating to subsequent events in Judæa. It can be read through at one sitting, or at most two; it is only half the length of "Hamlet," and not very much longer than the story of Joseph and his brethren.

That is one mode of dealing with a Gospel narrative, and it is a method insufficiently practised by adults; but, in my experience, even Mark is too long to be understood in that way by children. The material is of unequal value, and I doubt if children can carry away much from a comprehensive scamper over the ground.

Other parts of other Gospels, every one knows, are of the most striking character, and very appropriate for learning by heart. It is difficult to see how a teacher can go wrong in dealing with the Gospels; though, unfortunately, experience shows that it is possible, and that even such a subject as the Parables can be spoiled by making them technically a school subject, and submitting them to the labored treatment supposed to be suitable for examination purposes. Exact treatment, based upon scholarship and real information, can be most interesting to adults; but spurious or imitation-exact treatment, devised by parent or

teacher without scholarship and with no real information, is to everybody instinctively repellent.

Other parts of the Bible, such as some of the Psalms and the Prophetic Books, are manifestly of great value; but they are for the most part only appropriate to elder children, in my judgment. The teaching of the Prophets is, indeed, urgently needed by many in the nation to-day.

There is so much that is thus good, from every point of view, that there has been recently a tendency on the part of some Education Authorities to select these manifestly worthy portions exclusively, and to avoid reading the more archaic and, so to speak, bloodthirsty books, such as Judges, Kings, and Genesis, altogether.

But these are the parts which children like; and I do not think we need be too squeamish. That which was appropriate to the early stages of the race will be more or less appropriate also to the early stages of the individual; and, if a child does not understand future literary and popular references to the chief names and events therein recorded, his education is lamentably deficient.

But I cannot say that I am able to attach much, perhaps not any, moral significance to these dramatic stories of ancient times. They are exceedingly interesting, from an adult point of view, and instructive as to early human ideas, but are not easily apprehended in the historic sense by children; who often fail to discriminate between a very ancient and a more modern period, or even between the Old and the New Testaments.

IV.

In order to ascertain what sort of notions has been formed in their early days by children who were still young enough not entirely to have forgotten those days,—which I am afraid is the case with many of us,—I catechised in a friendly manner a small class of children, of a reasonably intelligent and fairly favored kind. I think it may be interesting if I give a summary of the sort of questions and answers that went on; it being understood that the questions were elaborated and expressed in such a way as to be intelligible, not put in the curt form here set down.

Q. 1.—"*What parts of the Bible first impressed you, when very small?*"

Child A.—"I think the Ark, because I was interested in the animals, how they went in and what they would do there."

Child B.—"I remember best about Gideon and the lamps, the breaking of the crockery and the attack in the sudden glare."

Child C.—"I used to like about Samson."

Child D.—"The flood, because it seemed the kind of thing that might happen again."

Child E (rather wearily).—"I suppose all that about Joseph."

Child F.—"I remember the man sowing; for there was a picture of it outside the book. I think I liked the pictures, and did not care for the words."

Very well, then, save for the pictorial exception, so far, we have Noah, Gideon, Samson Joseph: all in Judges and Genesis.

Q. 2.—"*Did these stories affect your conduct and make you better children?*"

General Chorus.—"Oh no. It has nothing to do with that; they were just stories!"

Child A.—"But not quite like other stories—more like history, perhaps, yet not like history."

Child B.—"No; people used to read them in a different way, so they felt different; but still they were stories."

Q. 3.—"*Do you remember the first times of going to church?*"

A.—"Yes; we used to look at the people: we did not understand at all, but in the sermon the preacher repeated one word many times, so I remembered that. I told it to my father, and he was pleased."

Q. 4.—"*Do you remember saying your first prayers?*"

A.—"Yes; but they had no meaning; it was just a going on of words—rather like gibberish. I remember asking [a slightly elder brother] whether it meant anything. It afterwards dawned on me that there was a meaning in the words, though still it felt like saying them over to mother or to nurse; though I remember that mother tried to explain about it."

Another child.—"My first religious recollection was saying the name 'Jesus' along with other names, and nurse told me never to use that word; so I felt there was something strange about it."

Q. 5.—"*Very well, then, come to the New Testament; what do you first remember about Christ?*"

Child A.—"Oh, I remember about the manger, and when he was twelve and the shepherds; but we got that from a hymn,—in fact, we got several things from hymns, especially those we had to say every night."

Child B.—"I used to like things about bushels and candlesticks, and things in Matthew; I am not sure whether that is Old or New Testament."

Child C.—"I think we like the New, now we are bigger; and some parts we used to like when small, such as the Parables."

[Town children, I fear, may be becoming inaccessible to some of the Parables.]

Child D.—"And I remember liking the Sermon on the Mount, because it said, 'Blessed are the dressmakers,'—or so I thought for some time."

Q. 6.—"*How do you like the Bible now?*"

General Opinion.—"Oh, now we are doing dull parts; it does not seem to have stories like it used to. Solomon is a dull part."

Another child.—"When we did Acts at school, it was horrid."

Q. 7.—"*Well, do you think the New Testament affected your conduct?*"

A.—"No, I do not think so."

Q. 8.—"*Then, what makes you such good children?*"

A.—"Oh, it is not the Bible at all—nothing to do with that. A book like 'Being and Doing' might do us good."

Another child (a small one).—"I think that the Bible, now we are older, might do us good perhaps."

Q. 9.—"*How do you know the difference between right and wrong?*"

A.—"When you have done a thing wrong you feel it; you do not need people to tell you. But, anyhow, people do tell you. What they tell us may have an effect, but it has nothing to do with reading: it is mostly what we feel in ourselves."

Well, it is very incomplete, but I am sure it is true, so far as it goes, though I am doubtful what the full moral that might be drawn from a more extended inquiry of this kind might be. Something, I think, in the direction of the indirect and continuous influence of a good home, and the intercourse with each other and with friendly adults; without, necessarily, so very much *ad hoc* teaching, beyond what is necessary for literature, and for the purpose of answering serious questions about the problems of existence, such as rationally occur to children—not forcing them to receive answers before there is a chance of their being ready for them,—before, in fact, either question or answer has any real meaning.

Faith and trust in the Love and Goodness underlying the universe seem to me the most vital and helpful thing; this is able to remove a mass of terror and unreasoning suspicion,—quite natural to a being rising to consciousness in an immense universe, in which it is helpless, and of which it feels ignorant.

Ignorant, no doubt, to a great extent, we all are; but what we have of good hope and trust we should endeavor to impart to children, whether it appears to us specifically religious or not, so long as it appears definitely true. Much of it *must* be told as the result of our larger experience, and therefore must be in a sense dogmatic. This is the sort of dogmatic teaching that is legitimate; but, with doubtful and critical questions of ecclesi-

astical theology, it does not seem to me that children have anything to do, or that such ideas have any practical effect. Such effect as they do have can hardly be regarded as altogether wholesome; much dread has been caused by them: it is rather cruel to inflict them on the receptive and docile mind of a child. If a child were to take seriously views expressed at some religious gatherings, and were to mope about its own salvation, it would be rather pitiful; if it were to pray for the conversion of its schoolfellows, instead of joining in their games, it would be monstrous. Healthy children do not do these things; their goodness is of another and higher order, not based upon a sickly consciousness of sin. And, so far as Christ is recorded to have dealt with children, He never thought of convicting them of evil; rather they were held up as examples of simple-hearted and natural goodness, such as we might learn from in the spirit, while we trained the body and taught the mind.

There is, however, a certain sort of dogma which we may wisely and circumspectly and reverently teach to children, if we think that there are fundamental facts which should precede initiation into the details of those differentiated doctrines which at present unhappily divide Christendom. Last year I drew up, and published as a small book, a Catechism of what I thought were the fundamentals of Christian faith, in a form suited to teachers and adults, for use with children from the adult's own standpoint; to be supplemented and enlarged and modified in accordance with personal conviction,—without which no religious teaching can be worthy of the name. I am now drafting a much-simplified statement, so as to summarize the essential features in a form more directly intelligible to children, and appropriate for learning by heart. This task is more difficult than the other, but it does not appear to be impossible; and it is hoped that it may be found a useful auxiliary to the larger document.

OLIVER LODGE.

THE AWAKENING OF INDIA.

BY FRANCIS H. SKRINE, INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED).

THE volcanic conditions prevalent in British India have something more than an academic interest for American citizens. The great Republic has long outgrown doctrines which would restrict her energies to the New World. She has wrested the last relics of colonial empire from Spain, and assumed the responsibility of governing 7,000,000 Asiatics. At no distant date she may be forced into a struggle for supremacy in the Pacific with one or more Asiatic Powers. In the realm of economics, the solidarity of mankind has been well-nigh accomplished; and every pulsation of that mighty heart is felt from Maine to Mexico. No patriotic American can ignore the awakening of the East.

The first lesson taught by events of this twentieth century is that we are face to face with world-forces. Asia is the cradle of our religion and civilization, and both were evolved in the alluvial valleys of the Nile, Euphrates, Indus and Ganges, in the course of that "eternal conflict between East and West which dyed blood-red the waters of Salamis and brought Zenobia a prisoner to Rome." There is some reason to believe that the process operates in æons of 500 years; each swing of the vast pendulum being attended by drastic changes in religion, social institutions and international politics. No student can survey the landmarks of history from 500 B.C., without arriving at a conviction that the Demi-millennial Theory rests on a solid substratum of fact. It was enunciated thirty-five years ago by Mr. Stuart Glennie, who holds that a new era has dawned with the defeat of Russia by Japan. These forces have generated the unrest that marks our age, when ancient idols are tottering to their fall, and deeply rooted canons of thought and action are called in question. To withstand world-forces is impossible. It

is the politician's function to forecast their operation, in order that the vital portions of existing institutions may emerge unharmed from their impact. *C'est contre le lendemain que mon esprit lutte,* said Prince Metternich to an American traveller, proving thereby that he had grasped one of the attributes of statesmanship. Progress is not attained by cataclysmic upheaval, but by the gradual modification of organs to suit a new environment.

Synthesis is an inherent property of human nature, and we may regard national consolidation as brought about by a series of ferments infusing new life into a chaotic mass. History marks the progress of change from fluidity and incoherence to consolidation and unity. The Superman seems essential to the making of the people. At every period of the world's history we find lawgivers, teachers, organizers and leaders, who tower high above their fellow men and guide them to a higher sphere in the leading-strings of fear or love. The welding agencies are some degree of uniformity in religion or morals, intermarriage, industrial co-operation and a democratic government. Thus is formed a multicellular organism, linked together by a living tissue of law, tradition, custom and history; furnished with organs for self-preservation and extending its environment; gifted, too, with a soul which reflects the ideal of the average human unit. It does not escape the laws of evolution which govern the material world. The stages of national growth are well defined. The first is one of mutual defence. Feudalism is usually associated with the break-up of the Roman Empire, but an almost identical system was evolved in India, Japan, Mexico and Peru.

It is based on the appropriation of land by a limited class, which is vested with privilege and saddled with corresponding duties. Thus an aristocracy of birth takes shape, which uses its legislative power for selfish ends, and becomes an oligarchy whose bond of union is mutual interest and caste-feeling. When feudalism has served its ends, the nation enters on an industrial era. This implies the concentration of labor in urban centres, whose wealth enables the *bourgeoisie* to wrest political power from the privileged classes.

But evolution is inexorable. The new ruling class succumbs in its turn to a democracy, whose spirit is thus admirably stated by Mr. Owen Wister:

"It was through the Declaration of Independence that we American acknowledged the eternal inequality of man. For by it we abolished a cut-and-dried aristocracy. We had seen little men held up in high places and great men artificially held down in low places; and our own justice-loving hearts abhorred the violence to human nature. Therefore we decreed that every man should have equal liberty to find his own level. By this very decree we acknowledged and gave freedom to aristocracy, saying—'Let the best man win, whoever he is!'"

This stage is fraught with danger to the life of the social organism. If commercialism enter its soul, the higher faculties are doomed to atrophy; the burden of national defence is shifted to mercenaries; the current of national life is narrowed by feudal survivals and choked by gross materialism. The dying community becomes a prey to parasitic growths, or is absorbed by a more virile neighbor.

Taine has remarked that the growth of moral sense is characteristic of a decadent community. In point of fact, a moral stage should succeed one in which a people's energies are concentrated on production and material enjoyment. The national conscience awakes to the evils of unrestricted competition, and realizes the fact that the Government exists not to promote the accumulation of wealth, but the diffusion of happiness. Hitherto, this renascence has come too late to prevent disintegration. In the world-wide arena of international struggle progress is stimulated by racial antipathies. Deep-seated is the hostility between Aryan and Semite, between white and yellow races. Cooperation is, indeed, a higher evolutionary process than the Struggle for Life, but ages must pass by ere it extend to the relations between communities. Each blindly obeys the promptings of the wish to live at its neighbors' expense. The hiving instinct, or earth-hunger, impels a vigorous nation to extend its borders by means of warfare, commercial enterprise or colonization. But when a civilized government comes into contact with others less advanced, its conquests must continue until they reach the sea, an impassable mountain barrier, or the frontiers of another State strong enough to be mistress at home. Such is the genesis of all empires, past and present. Their permanence is in a direct ratio with their power of assimilation. No Government, however enlightened, suffices to weld a community together in lasting bonds. As I have remarked above, the necessary factors in nation-building are some uniformity in the standard of religion or

morals, miscegenation and democratic rule. In the absence of these essentials, the victor's iron grasp must, sooner or later, relax; and his distant possession is left to a far worse fate than if it had never tasted of the cup of civilization.

Applying these canons of evolution to India, we perceive the tremendous perplexity of the problems with which Great Britain is confronted. The peninsula is a triangle of 1,500,000 square miles in area. Its base, resting on Asia, is protected by the impenetrable Himalayan range. Only on the northwest is India vulnerable by passes in the Suleiman Mountains. Its sides are washed by the sea, and have but few good harbors. Thus, India has the advantages and defects of an insular position, which favors the growth of national life, while it intercepts currents of energy from without. In prehistoric times the central plateau was an island; but it had been connected with the mainland by detritus washed from the Himalayas by a group of mighty rivers. The alluvial plains of India afford a key to her civilization and history. The valleys of the Indus, Ganges, Brahmaputra, and their network of tributaries, yearly fertilized by silt, are fit breeding-grounds for the human race. The climate is tropical, but the northern provinces have extremes of hot and cold. It is enervating to muscular power, while it stimulates the sexual instinct. Before the dawn of history, India was the habitat of aboriginal tribes, who lived by fishing and the chase. About 1500 B.C., if not much earlier, waves of foreign invasion began to pour in from the northwest. The newcomers' kinship with ourselves was proved by their lofty brow, clearly cut features and fair complexions. They had reached a high degree of civilization, were well organized for war, and brought with them the Sanskrit language—perhaps the most complex and perfect of all vehicles for exchanging thought. Their religion was the worship of Nature-powers; and the antisocial caste-instinct had not yet developed. These Aryans drove the aboriginal tribesmen to the mountains and forests, or reduced them to slavery. On settling down in the alluvial valleys, their warlike spirit relaxed, and their skins darkened. The synthetic tendency produced caste distinctions. Priests, warriors, professional men and traders formed communities apart, and intermarriage became impossible. Thus the chief factor in nation-building was absent. With specialization came greater complexity in religion. It developed an ethical

side, and blindly sought the Intelligence which stands behind elemental powers. In this view, the world is an arena for the activities of creating, sustaining and destroying influences. The human soul seeks absorption in Divinity; but its impurities cannot be purged away in the course of one transient life. Thus arose the doctrine of Metempsychosis, which enunciates the transmigration of souls during ages of purifying trial. Asceticism was a necessary consequence, and the keen-witted priesthood developed a marvellous system of philosophy. The ignorant masses were held in thrall by legends celebrating the exploits of demigods—incarnations of the Sustaining Influence.

In the sixth century B.C. Hinduism underwent a transient reformation. Gautama, known to his followers as Buddha—"The Intelligence"—headed a reaction against Brahmin arrogance, and the materialism attending prosperity. He rejected caste, and the elaborate ceremonial which was the backbone of priestcraft, but retained the conception of Metempsychosis. Buddha anticipated Schopenhauer in believing that existence is a curse, and annihilation a blessing. The latter could be effected only when a balance had been struck between the good and evil actions of the soul after undergoing countless transmigrations. The charity of Buddhism knows no bounds, but its spirit is distinctly individualistic. It preaches resignation, passive contemplation and abstraction from mundane affairs. Such a creed was incompatible with the struggle for life; and after enduring for eleven hundred years it provoked another reaction. In the sixth century of our era, Hinduism in a degraded form was restored. Brahmins regained ascendency, and strengthened their position by multiplying ceremonial observances. Religious ideals degenerated. No longer was the Creative Influence adored. Its place was usurped by a Sustaining Factor in its generative aspect. This cult soon assumed a highly sensuous form, and brought about the subjection of women. The Goddess of Destruction was placated by cruel rites. Heroes, regarded as incarnations of the Gods above; symbols of material wealth, such as a Cow and the River Ganges, found millions of suppliants. The theory of government was a pure theocracy; the warrior caste a secular arm, ever ready to do the Brahmins' bidding. The lower castes spread out into countless ramifications, resembling mediæval guilds, linked by religion, but kept apart by marriage customs. Caste stereo-

types a man's position at his birth, and is fatal to social cohesion. Another disintegrating element was the crystallization of society into minute particles. In course of centuries, the Indian plains were overspread by villages, each a complete self-governing unit, like so many infantry battalions. A congeries of States resting on such foundations is powerless against foreign aggression.

In 1001 A.D. came the first of many waves of Moslem invasion. Arabia, inhabited by a fierce, high-souled and contemplative race, was the cradle of Islam. The bane of religion is mysticism, which seeks the Creator but ignores the world, and fanaticism, which is mysticism translated into action. The Arab character was a forcing-ground for these qualities. Islam is a monotheism of the higher type. Its cardinal doctrines are resignation to God's will, the duties of prayer, penance and pilgrimage, the brotherhood of believers, and missionary effort attended by the sword. Inspired by fatalism and the memory of a great name, the Khalifs' followers subdued western Asia, and invaded Europe. But for the crushing defeat which they received from a Christian coalition at Tours (732 A.D), the West would now acknowledge that "there is no God save Allah and Mohammed is His Prophet." The princes of India could not withstand such forces. One by one they succumbed; and the sixteenth century saw an Islamic Empire installed at Delhi. The Mogul rulers were essentially nomads. They encamped in the peninsula, and their reigns were spent in moving from one extremity to the other with a locustlike horde of followers. Such education as they tolerated was purely Moslem; and the current of national life was scarcely affected. At one moment it seemed as though India had found the Superman who would lead her in the path of progress. The Emperor Akbar (1560-1605) had boundless sympathy associated with high culture, and a truly enlightened spirit. He took counsel of the best elements in Hindu society, and his system of Government has left indelible traces on Indian polity. His descendant Aurangzib (1658-1707) was a bigot born in the purple; and his long reign was an era of persecution terminating in civil war. At his death, the Empire, knit together by Akbar's statecraft, fell to pieces. Provincial satraps threw off their allegiance to the puppet Emperor of Delhi, and kingdoms arose with mushroom rapidity.

Meantime, European society had traversed the feudal stage,

and entered one of industry (1500-1900). The transformation of energy was brought about by a variety of causes. Printing multiplied the power of intellect a thousandfold. The grandeur and impeccable beauty of classical literature came as a revelation to the human mind. Renascence in art and literature inspired revolt against the absolutism and dogma of Rome. The hiving instinct grew stronger, and it prompted maritime nations to seek new worlds beyond the sea. The discovery of America synchronized with that of the Cape route to India. Portuguese, English and Dutch mariners competed for a share in the rich Eastern commerce, and established factories on the Indian coast. At first, they came as timid suppliants; but they grew bolder in the anarchy of Mogul decadence. The instinct of self-preservation compelled them to maintain armies, and form alliances with native Powers. In the race for wealth, British merchants distanced all competitors. An insular position had given their country sea-power and comparatively free institutions; and they received heart-whole support from home. France was the last to succumb. During the first half of the eighteenth century she was a great colonizing Power; but the utter rottenness of the government of Louis XV destroyed an Indian Empire in the making. Hitherto, the Great Mogul, even in his degradation, was a word to conjure with. Had his nominal satrap who ruled Bengal respected the persons of British traders, the bubble might have been long in bursting. The Black Hole of Calcutta was avenged by Plassey (1757), which taught the lesson that Asiatics, led by Asiatics, were no match for European discipline. The prestige of superior might made a company of merchant adventurers the paramount power in India. Among the mother-ideas of Socialism was a spectacle of a band of traders governing an Empire.

Their early attempts to administer this rich and densely peopled domain were mere gropings in the dark. The white "Nabobs" were intent on wringing fortunes from the hopeless ryots, and their insolent wealth degraded the ideals of their countrymen at home. It is probable that India suffered more from the knavery and strength of European civilization than from the preceding anarchy. An exotic system of law was foisted on a people only too ready to profit by imported chicane. The ancient village organization was ruthlessly trampled on; landlordism in its worst

form was introduced into Bengal. With greater experience, the quality of our government improved; and the rulers of India began to grasp their duty towards subject races. Natives gained a footing in the lower grades of the official hierarchy; and English became the medium of higher instruction throughout the peninsula. The imposing edifice rested on insecure foundation. The centenary of Plassey was the signal for a revolt of our pampered native army, which shook the Empire to its foundations. Its suppression was a landmark in history. India passed under the control of the British Crown, or rather of the omnipotent Parliament. No public assembly could be less fitted for so gigantic a task. Ignorant, parochial, opportunist and rent by factions, the House of Commons has allowed its great dependency to be governed by a bureaucracy whose permanent officials have no personal knowledge of their charge. Their servants in the East are far better qualified to administer an Empire. They have the virtues and defects of an imperial race; and the edifice which has arisen in a brief half-century has genuine claims to the world's admiration. India enjoys peace within her borders, security from foreign aggression. The laws have been admirably codified. A network of 29,000 miles of railway, vast systems of irrigation, postal and telegraph services in advance of those of Europe, medical relief, some measure of Western education—such are the advantages which India has reaped from foreign rule. One thing alone is wanting, and that is the union of hearts. We are camping in the peninsula like our predecessors the Moguls. Miscegenation is impossible; for the handful of British would be overwhelmed in the mass, as were the Portuguese three centuries earlier. Efficient government is secured by a constant influx of the flower of Britain's youth. Conquering races are, *ipso facto,* deficient in imagination and sympathy. The British nature is positive, material, refractory to new impressions, and adverse to philosophic speculation. Moreover, national ideals have deteriorated since the Jubilee of 1887, which provoked an aristocratic reaction, and heightened the lust of dominion. The pseudo-imperialism thus generated received a setback from the Boer War; but commercialism and a thirst for material enjoyment have entered the nation's soul to the detriment of all its higher faculties. Anglo-Indians unwittingly outrage native sentiment by consuming forbidden food. "I love you, Sahib," said a

Sikh of high rank to his English friend; "but when I think that you are in the habit of devouring beef, my soul shrinks from yours!" Their interest in the languages and higher manifestations of Indian thought is very slight. Many have no other ambition than to spend as large a proportion of Indian service as possible in hill stations, and hasten back to the delights of golf and bridge. The British are not alone to blame for the widening gulf between rulers and ruled. The Indian nature is charitable, self-denying and prone to natural affection. The cultured classes are idealists, with a secret contempt for material civilization. But the fruit of ages of subjection is seen in their fatalism and lack of self-reliance. Owing to deficient moral balance, they often exhibit the most astounding contradictions. Religious and caste prejudices divide them into countless semi-hostile communities, and restrict social intercourse with Europeans. The saving clause in their complex character is a limitless capacity for admiration. An Englishman gifted with the nobler virtues is loved and obeyed with devotion. Herein, perhaps, lies the key to the problem of governing India.

It can hardly be said that the worthiest traits in Indian nature are elicited by education. The percentage of children attending school to the total population is only 1.9, as compared with 13 in England. Technical instruction has scarcely begun, and infinitesimal is the number of girls who receive any kind of training. Young men are taught to remember, rather than to think for themselves. No pains are taken to form character or inspire a sense of public duty. The output of our Colleges and High Schools is far in excess of the country's wants; and thousands of youths find that their dearly bought culture fails to give them bread. Their bitter disappointment finds vent in the press. The united circulation of India's seventeen hundred vernacular journals is insignificant from a Western point of view. But each copy is read to a little crowd of eager listeners after the daily work is done, and their hostile tone has permeated the masses. The Congress movement has had a similar effect. It commenced in 1885, as an aftermath of the racial friction generated by Lord Ripon's well-meant effort to equalize the legal status of Europeans and Indians. It is the wire-pullers' aim to destroy the monopoly of high office enjoyed by the ruling race and pave the way for democratic government. In its earlier stages the

agitation was conducted by constitutional methods, but they have given place to a campaign of slander and misrepresentation.

India's isolation is a thing of the past. She is penetrated by world-forces, amongst which are Socialism and its offshoot, Anarchism. In both, the cardinal doctrine is class warfare, culminating in a cataclysm which will sweep away the inequalities and injustices of society. It is more than a coincidence that Lajpat Rai, who has recently been deported for sedition, consorted last year with Anarchists in Paris and Brussels. Political agitators have borrowed the tactics described by Karl Marx and Bakunin. Moreover, the spirit of revolt has infected millions belonging to the lower castes. The jute traffic has poured a flood of wealth into Bengal, whose down-trodden masses chafe under Brahmin despotism and crave for a larger measure of social recognition. But the distribution of wealth is as defective as it is in Europe. An increasing percentage of the Indian population is always on the verge of famine. Railways have equalized the price of food, and maintained it at a far higher level than in the days of native rule. Foreign commerce is, indeed, advancing by leaps and bounds; but, from an Indian point of view, it does not conduce to the general well-being. The great bulk of its profits is spent in Europe, America and China. Exports consist mainly of raw materials; imports, of manufactured goods which might readily be produced by organized labor within the Empire. Indigenous industries have been killed by free trade, and those who pursued them have been relegated to an overburdened soil. Ninety per cent. of the population are agriculturists, most of whom are packed into the alluvial areas. Early marriage and large families are inculcated by religion. Thus the preventive checks enunciated by Malthus are at work on a gigantic scale. Warfare and famine are prevented by the British Government, but it is powerless against cholera and plague. The pressure of population on the soil is felt by all classes with increasing stringency; and they blame alien rulers for the consequences of their own disobedience to nature's laws.

Religion is an important factor in the existing ferment. The 207,000,000 Hindus are ruled with an iron rod by the Brahmins, who are strongly organized, and present common characteristics from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Their dream is a restoration of the theocracies destroyed nine centuries ago, and it is

communicated to the devotees who flock by millions to places of pilgrimage. The rising at Manipur in 1891, which led to the slaughter of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, was planned at Kalighat, a temple of the Goddess of Destruction near Calcutta. The 5,000,000 religious mendicants who batten on Hindu charity and superstition are inveterate foes to the foreign rule. The ideals of Indian Mussulmans, numbering 62,000,000, have undergone a curious transformation. The upper class, descended from Mogul soldiers and statesmen, knew that time was when English merchants sued for the crumbs that fell from the Emperor's table. Their attitude towards us was one of aloofness, and they were inclined to resent the virtual monopoly of high office secured by the suppler and more subtle Hindus. About ninety years ago a reform movement set in among the population of Bengal, whose forebears had been forcibly converted by the Moguls. It was Puritanism of a militant type, and aimed at the extirpation of Christian rule. But in the last few years a change has taken place in the spirit of Islam throughout Asia. The example of Japan has proved that the West may be beaten with its own weapons, and cultured Mohammedans are assimilating the nobler side of European civilization while they reject its dross. The current agitation is essentially Hindu, and those who profess the rival cult are ranging themselves on the British side. Christians of all denominations number barely one per cent. of the population. Proselytes would come in more freely if Christian secretaries would lay aside their mutual jealousy; but the political influence of missionary effort is wholly good. The spectacle of self-devotion, self-denial and brotherly love afforded by devoted Europeans of all denominations is a powerful antidote to the profound materialism of our Government.

Such are the more salient features of the unrest which is permeating India. It is nothing else than the blind struggle of an embryonic national soul to find corporate existence. England has given her great dependency a *lingua franca* for the interchange of thought, means of communication which annihilate space and natural obstacles. For the first time in their history educated Indians are united by a common Government and common political ideals. They are in complete touch with the external world. If the example of Japan has fired the imagination of Indian patriots, the lessons taught by the passive resistance of

Nonconformists and the efforts of Englishwomen to secure political rights have not been lost. The Wish to Live of a nascent organism has been outraged by the partition of Bengal. However necessary some such measure may have been from an administrative point of view, it was far too drastic, and has robbed the ancient province of rich districts which were geographically and politically its own. Of the measures adopted by Indian wire-pullers it is hard to speak with equanimity. The boycott, by which they hoped to bring Great Britain to her knees, was evidently inspired by the direct pressure and general strike recognized by Anarchists, and is equally impossible of realization. For good or for evil, India has entered the comity of civilized nations, and is linked to it by countless ties. Her isolation would mean a reversion to the barbarism of the pre-Aryan period. Such senseless and wicked manœuvres will serve only to make compromise impossible. Nor can the policy of our Indian Government escape condemnation. It neglected the maxim "*Principiis obsta,*" and allowed Bengal and the Punjab to drift into a state perilously resembling anarchy. Then it passed from timidity to the opposite extreme. Regulation III of 1818, which was raked up in order to spirit Lajpat Rai two thousand miles from his home, was framed in order to deal with the European adventurers let loose on India by the peace of 1815. When the Tsar of Russia adopts such measures, Englishmen can find no words to express their indignation. The prosecution of obscure native journals only increases their circulation. The prohibition of political meetings closes a channel by which popular discontent is brought to the knowledge of the ruling class. To grapple with external symptoms and neglect deep-seated causation is to lay up a store of racial hatred which will bear bitter fruit in the next decade.

Is the Indian problem, then, insoluble? A gleam of hope is afforded by the awakening of England's conscience. She is entering on a moral stage of national existence, and is becoming alive to the evils attending the unequal distribution of wealth, limitless competition, feudal privilege and *laissez faire.* Her broadening sympathy may, possibly, extend to the three hundred millions of Asiatics for whose welfare she is responsible in the sight of God. European civilization is not the last word; it has much to learn from Asia. From an evolutionary point of view, subject

races are an impossibility. It is not in the nature of things that an Empire in another hemisphere should be eternally governed from a little group of islands set in northern seas. England's mission is to pave the way for a time when India shall take her place beside the great self-governing Colonies. Indians, too, should profit by the precious years of British peace. They are by no means strong enough to stand alone, and the withdrawal of 70,000 foreign bayonets would plunge them into anarchy and civil war. Social must precede political reform. When the bonds of caste are broken, when Brahmin tyranny is overthrown, when Indian women are emancipated, the process of nation-building will have really begun. Technical education is in its infancy; the empire's resources are poorly developed, and—except in Bombay—the agency has been European, not native, capital. Great Britain and India alike must take to heart the burning words of Ruskin, "That nation is wealthiest which contains the greatest number of noble and happy lives."

FRANCIS H. SKRINE.

THE GERMAN PRESS.

BY AUSTIN HARRISON.

NOTHING sticks so long as a bad name, a good nickname or a false reputation; and Bismarck's apothegm, half parable, half paradox, that the German Government had to pay for the window-panes its press smashed, has gone down to posterity with legendary fame and familiarity. As when Uncle Toby swore his first oath, the Recording Angel may well have blushed as the *mot* was registered—the stigma persists; and so the German Press still is regarded as the most reckless, ignorant, irresponsible and ill-informed in any country in Europe.

Public opinion in Germany being commonly reputed to be non-existent, or if existent impotent, it is not unnatural that the German Press should be decried generally as a totally inadequate, unrepresentative and unimportant institution; reflecting neither the voice of the people nor the opinion of the Government, neither the temper of the nation nor the will of the Emperor; ill-conditioned because ill-directed, discrediting and compromising its own Government, policy and people; and, since it possesses little prestige in its own country, *ipso facto* not calling for the serious attention of politicians in others. This reputation was, of course, precisely the one which Bismarck, in his perspicuous statecraft, desired that it should have. In the years immediately succeeding the creation of the German Empire, public opinion hardly existed in Germany at all. The public conscience lay dormant (politically speaking) in palsied Philistinism, the heritage of Napoleonic dominion. In schism, controversy and in a wilderness of partisan meta-politics, the Germans had grown from infancy to manhood, from a centrifugal congeries of States and State policies to national unity and cohesion, overnight almost as it were, by blood and iron; and, on the morrow of the great

event, lacked not only political education, but singleness of national purpose or understanding for their epochal political achievement.

To mould the people, Bismarck set about moulding and establishing a great press. No statesman ever used the press to such purpose, with greater advantage to himself, or with more unscrupulous effect. He established a press bureau in the Wilhelmstrasse, which became and still is an integral part of the German Foreign Office. From the chemistry of his "inspiration," Busch, "his little Archer," shot off his journalistic arrows in the guise of *ballons d'essai,* test questions and crooked answers, threats, suggestions, insinuations, declarations, backed up by the "inspired" leading article, the suggestive *entrefilet,* the historical survey and the paragraph of bluff; throwing over the whole German Press a skein of intrigue, diplomatic blarney and mystery which it was the duty of European chancelleries and journalists to unravel, and if necessary to respond to. Bismarck is dead, but his deeds live after him. In all essentials, the German Press to-day is to the political student as invaluable as it was in Bismarck's days. In many ways it is the most faithful index of impending political events of any press in Europe.

Let it be said at once that to those who can read, the German Press reflects the whims, ambitions and aims of the Government as no other medium can do. It is the most docile, well drilled and controlled, the most supine, press in all international questions of any in the world. On foreign affairs, it is the instrument of authority, not the expression of the popular sentiment or will. In such matters it waives all right of independent opinion. Now, in this servility to official guidance lies its inherent strength, and its chief claim to our attention.

To imagine that the lucubrations of German journalists are not worth the ink expended on them, and that the press is badly informed, badly directed, without coherent aim or policy, is to fall into the very trap that Bismarck laid for the artless politician when he promulgated his exceedingly artful press dictum. The secret of understanding the German Press is this: first, that on questions of foreign policy it is never independent, though frequently entirely divorced from public opinion; and, secondly, that whatever it does say, it says with some object, either tentative, advisory, minatory, or otherwise, and that it may faithfully

be regarded as the mouthpiece of semi-official opinion. It is important to appreciate this fact.

Not that it is easy to read the German Press always correctly. For this, obviously, considerable experience is necessary. Mystification is often the object of diplomacy. One must "know" the papers, and of course any one who has resided in Germany has an enormous advantage over the tyro, who is unacquainted with the men of the press, or those who "impress" them. At the present moment, the press is far more centralized politically than it used to be, and as subject to "inspiration" as it ever was. Its centre is Berlin. From the oracles of the Wilhelmstrasse the idea goes forth. A suggestion, a pat on the back, a political simile or jest or quotation, a diplomatic wink, or hoodwink—such devices are sufficient, and their substance appears in a leading article or in paragraphic completeness, which is repeated by rote through the provincial press of all Germany. With the exception of the Socialist organs, the great provincial papers are fed from Berlin, where they maintain their own correspondents; and in this way Hamburg knows what München, and Dresden what Breslau and all other cities, repeat. This, of course, simplifies the matter. The incense emanates from the capital, and thus it is enough to study the Berlin papers to know quite accurately what political Germany thinks about any important international question.

However anomalous it may seem to Americans, German Press humility does not entail humiliation. In a country where freedom of speech and person is limited, and where autocratic, military rule is absolute, it is natural enough that the press should be receptive and subservient. Journalism in the Fatherland is the calling for those who, for some reason or other, have never found another calling. It is an estate without a status. Emoluments are small. It carries no dignity, offers no position, involves neither social, political nor literary distinction. Thus inevitably its ranks are recruited from the flotsam and jetsam of other professions, almost never from the schools; and the open contempt with which Germans regard the "Gentlemen of the Press" is one of the main causes of German political ignorance. Nor does the German public at all resent the conception of a "reptile press" as in any way reflecting upon the public prestige. It is recognized as the tool of the Government, as the public whipping-

toy which all alive can have a fling at. Then, too, ridiculous orders and titles being cheap, much-prized loyalty is easily preserved, and small difficulty is experienced in manipulating the machine. The *flair* for news is generally lacking. Independent enterprise finds little opportunity. Foreign correspondence is meagre in the extreme. And practically the entire German Press depends for its foreign intelligence upon the very economical service of the semi-official Telegraph Agency, which supplies only the barest facts, and, being itself under official tutelage, exercises a semi-official influence over the entire German Press. Were it not for the foreign correspondence of the "*Lokal Anzeiger*" of Berlin and the letters in the "*Koelnische Zeitung*," the German public would practically know nothing of what goes on in other countries except occasional facts of what Germans would style of world-political importance.

Needless to say, this is a very pernicious state of things. The German public is kept systematically in profound ignorance of events in other countries; and, as there are no rival agencies, and no likelihood of any rival agency appearing, this state of things will probably continue for a very long time. The absence of press initiative renders it an easy matter for the Government to keep the press "in order," the public in ignorance, and to stir up artificial waves of emotion and indignation whenever the "authorities" judge it provident to do so. Thus, during the Boer War, the public was completely hoaxed by the press. And thus, too, in all questions regarding Russia, everything is done to spare Russian susceptibilities, and nothing is permitted to be said that may give offence to the Government of the "Little Father." As, moreover, the German newspapers are widely read in Russia and arrive there before the English mails, the German Press invariably addresses itself to its audience across the Eastern frontier and writes on all international affairs for Russian consumption. During the Russo-Japanese War, though German sympathy was markedly anti-Russian, the German Press on every possible occasion "wrote up" Russian victories and prophesied Japanese defeat, and adopted an attitude of sympathy with the Tsar's legions utterly at variance with the feelings of the nation, which felt as bitterly towards Russia as it did towards England—only that, in the case of Russia, the press refused to give it expression, while in the case of England the press encouraged it!

"Reptile" Bismarck called his press, and few who know it will contend that it has done anything since to belie that reputation. A press which is controlled by semi-official inspiration, which, without any independent thought or conscience of its own, will resort to calumny or lickspittling, according to direction, and which on foreign politics writes not so much for the education or guidance of its own public as for the greater and more intelligent political public in other countries, must be more or less "reptile," and a very fair weathercock of German diplomacy. Neither party faction nor political personal ambition in any way affects the attitude of the press on foreign affairs. Editors seem to regard such matters as beyond the province of their imagination. They distrust their own judgment. They seek blindly for inspiration, and they get it. And that is the reason why the German Press is so instructive a political handbook.

How does the press draw its inspiration? Well, readers of Busch's "Secret Pages of the History of Bismarck" will remember the delectable scene wherein the author describes his first bow to his future master. He has left us a vivid account of the nature of his duties, how he became the amanuensis of the great Chancellor, and how with his ready pen he kept Europe in a constant state of trepidation in the interests of high German diplomacy. The system remains. The esoteric mysteries of "inspiration" are as obvious as the oracles themselves.

As before said, the press bureau is an integral part of the German Foreign Office. It has a head and a staff of some four or five members, drawn, like Busch, mostly from the press; men who have been singled out for official distinction—for, on entering the Foreign Office, they become officials with an official status. Their duties are fairly arduous. The senior members receive press representatives and instruct them in their calling, and they are in constant touch with the Chancellor, and one of them invariably attends upon him in the Reichstag. From this bureau emanate elaborate articles on international politics, elliptical paragraphs and "well-informed" rebukes administered to foreign peoples and to refractory German organs.

It is frequently observed that the degree of information of the various newspapers varies in great measure, now one paper, like the "Post," apparently knowing everything, now the "National Zeitung," now the "Frankfurter Gazette," now the "*Ber-*

liner Lokal Anzeiger" or some out-of-the-way provincial organ. The reason for this is what Germans would call the "personal moment." Naturally, some members of the press are more favored than others, or they are cleverer at deducing, comprehending and anticipating, and they learn more than the man who, knowing nothing himself, endeavors to get the tip by fair and square tackling. Some press representative is always *persona grata,* and one of the best informed men in Germany, who perhaps knows as much about the "true inwardness" of German domestic and foreign policy as the Chancellor himself, is the Berlin correspondent of the "*Frankfurter Zeitung*"; but he is extremely cautious and loyal to the Government he serves.

The press office is always open. It is a sort of political inquiry agency; and once a journalist has the ear of the oracle, and is clever and tactful, he can learn as much about the trend of political affairs as is good for him, and becomes a very "well-informed" and useful contributor to his newspaper. Of course, obedience is essential. If he is instructed to say something about British perfidy, and then writes an article about Britain's rectitude, he may find the workshop closed next time he applies for admittance, or an even worse fate may befall him, so that in effect the use of the press office is remarkably disciplinarian and dictatorial, and offers an effectual clog to individual journalistic effort—which, it may be, is also its main object. As a rule its mandates are never disobeyed. It decrees, and exacts implicit obedience. And the journalist who desires to get on has to take the straight "tip" without demurrer or exalted individualism. In this way it diffuses its influence over the whole country.

Abroad, too, German Press "inspiration" is an important asset in every well-appointed German Embassy. There is usually some member of the embassy deputed to receive correspondents, to keep in touch socially with the captains of the press and to temper the distemper of a "bad press." German Embassies are not for ornament and mere representation. In London, during the reaction following on the German Anglophobia of the Boer War, strenuous efforts were made to placate and assuage the British press, and it must be admitted that German Embassies are fully aware of the growing importance of sympathetic co-operation with the press, and obtain very gratifying results in consequence. In Paris, during the recent Moroccan crisis, and

in the days of the Algeciras Conference, some remarkably adroit subterranean work was accomplished, with which achievement the presence of the leading member of the press bureau of the Wilhelmstrasse in the French capital may legitimately be connected. With Americans the Emperor has set the fashion, having broken all precedent by receiving the Berlin correspondent of the Associated Press in Berlin,—whereas it is notorious that German journalists are absolutely tabooed at Court—and by never letting the opportunity pass of tendering his imperial *petits soins* to American pressmen. This is always noticeable at the Kiel regatta and other great functions. It is mentioned here as evidence of the Emperor's "modernness" and intelligent understanding of contemporary conditions of political life.

A word must be said about the influence of the great commercial and financial magnates on the German Press and of their growing power in things political. Men like Ballin, the founder of German commercial power; like the late Krupp, the arm and burgonet of German sociocracy; like the late v. Siemens, the designing brain of the Baghdad railway scheme; like the great bankers Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Bleichroeder, etc.; and, latterly, like Scherl, the proprietor of the "*Lokal-Anzeiger*," exercise far more influence on German politics than is commonly supposed. The Kaiser and Ballin made Germany a great sea-power. The bankers initiated the German policy of economic penetration in South America, Asia Minor, China, and Morocco, and maintain and virtually direct it. Without the Deutsche Bank and the Disconto Gesellschaft Bank, Germany would never have entered South America at all; and without the banking interest the great Anatolian railways scheme would never have been conceived. The Emperor early saw their influence and cultivated it accordingly. He consults them, and in great measure is guided by their counsels. Although Herr Ballin is a Jew, the Emperor is on terms of close intimacy with him, while he was the open friend of the late Krupp, who has made Germany the leading arsenal of the world. And, when important financial questions are at issue, the influence of the great financiers makes itself felt not only upon the press, but upon the whole trend of German politics. Particularly is this the case as regards England and Russia. Most marked was this politico-financial pressure on the press in the case of the Russian loans, though the German people were,

and are, diametrically opposed to the pro-Russian policy of their Government. It is not too much to say that German Imperialism, which from adverse circumstances owes its motive mechanism to State policy rather than to the natural result of individual enterprise, is only possible by reason of the great banking interest which is not only identical with, but is the basic incentive to, the Emperor's over-sea and colonial policy. England's Empire was built up by individual enterprise and economic provision, the flag following only when the work was completed. German Imperialism is being founded upon the flag and State finance for the purpose of attracting individual effort and enterprise in their wake. The distinction is great, and largely explains the suspicion with which Pan-German ambitions are viewed by the more satisfied nations of the earth.

For such as are not acquainted with the status of the various German newspapers a few explanatory words may be useful. The German Press may be classified as semi-official and financial; all the rest being practically but pale reflexes of the leading organs and without much influence or interest to the foreign political public. There is no "Times" in Germany, and no Book Club. But the semi-official press is quite as well informed on foreign affairs as any English newspaper, and though not so enterprising, is quite as instructive and quite as accurate.

Most important of these is the "North German Gazette," which is the official organ of the Foreign Office and speaks with Papal knowledge and infallibility. Its functions are mainly negative, and its most obvious purpose is to issue semi-official denials, to correct some German organ or other which has offended, and to give the tone generally to press and people. This it does in a sort of running commentary on events, and occasionally, but only occasionally, by means of a small leader which has the official imprimatur of authoritative utterance. Its editor is a Russian by birth, strongly pro-Russian in policy, formerly a leader-writer on the "*Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*," where he was distinguished for his anti-English lucubrations and Pan-German proclivities. He has imparted elasticity to the paper; and, when things are "moving" in the great world of politics, he rattles off daily disclaimers, corrections, rebuffs and rebukes with ready proficiency and pertinacity. It is essential to read this organ. Though not a paper for the general public,

though not a paper at all in the English or American sense of the word, it is the guiding power of official press utterance, and is the first newspaper the foreign correspondent reads on beginning work as possibly containing the most essential item of political intelligence.

The greatest newspaper in Germany still is the "*Koelnische Zeitung*," which is published at Köln, and is still the most expensive daily in the Fatherland. Its leaders resemble those of "The Times" in length, weight and form. On foreign affairs, its information is thoroughly sound and reliable, and, on occasion, it proves itself to be the best informed of any newspaper in the Empire. Prince von Bülow favors it, and its Berlin correspondent regularly punctuates German diplomatic action and is "used" for sounding the foreign press, issuing *démentis* and the like, and is a very important personage in the land. The journal is always worth reading, and it has an admirable correspondence from London and Paris, and many highly interesting articles on all sorts and conditions of men and topics. The student has to read it carefully. Its leaders are full of *entre-filets* requiring telegraphic attention, and it speaks for the nation from Berlin. Naturally, its field is Köln and the Rhenish provinces, but many people take it in all over the country, and of course all interested in foreign affairs study it. The point to note is that it has no independent opinion on foreign affairs, and its articles are important because they reflect the Foreign Office view and are intended for foreign consumption.

Another "well-informed" paper is the "*National Zeitung*" of Berlin, the leading organ of the National Liberals, who are really a rational Imperialist party. It represents the German national idea and interest, and under the direction of its Imperialist editor speaks with grave authority on all international questions. It arrogates to itself the rôle of monitor to its less "well-informed" contemporaries; it keeps in close touch with the Foreign Office, and is a very inspiring and inspired newspaper. Here, again, there is no independent judgment on foreign matters, no personal criticism, no individual line or attitude. It is a sensible, well-conducted newspaper, containing good articles, good criticism of art, literature and the stage, and is quite indispensable to the man on the spot whose business it is to study German public affairs.

Then there is the "Post," the leading semi-official organ of the Conservative parties, strongly Imperial and Imperialist, reactionary, and also extremely "well informed" and conducted from "on high." Its articles on foreign policy are always interesting, generally flavored with some kind of inspiration, and not infrequently written by men who are actually "in the know." Especially in its Saturday and Sunday editions its knowledge is manifested. Some of these sapient reflections on foreign affairs emanate straight from the Foreign Office, even if they are not actually written there. Being the mouthpiece of the Junker aristocracy, and so of militarism, its leading contributors are often members of that "set," and on all occasions it voices the will of the Prussian Squirearchy, of pipe-clay Conservative interest and class prejudice, and is a fierce opponent of Social Democracy. It must be read. It is too conservative for Socialist Berlin, but it is *the* respectable organ of Conservatism, and its circulation is limited to the class which it represents. Of all German newspapers, perhaps it is the most consistently useful to the foreign observer of *Weltpolitik*.

Another useful and inspired paper is the "*Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*," which has great trade interests behind it and is strongly national in the pan-German sense. In degree of "inspiration" it varies from time to time. It is a widely read paper in Berlin, of the purely political type peculiar to German journalism. Its public is naturally the Conservative National Liberal one, financial and military people, and it is a strong advocate of the Emperor's naval policy.

Then there is the "Daily Mail" of Germany, the Berlin "*Lokal-Anzeiger*," which is a very up-to-date, go-ahead newspaper with an enormous circulation, and quite the most prosperous organ in the land. Originally, it was popular and reflected no political view whatever. But of recent years its power has attracted the powers that be, and it is, and has been for some time, an extremely "well-informed" news organ, often being in the position to publish political information of first-hand importance, and now consistently reflects the official opinion in matters of State concern. It is admirably conducted; and its political editors are in close touch with the Foreign Office. This organ is the only one in Germany which maintains a daily independent telegraphic service from foreign capitals, and is the organ *par*

excellence of all who desire to know what is going on in other countries.

All the leading provincial dailies are more or less subject to inspiration. Thus organs such as the "*Hamburger Correspondent*," the "*Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*," the leading dailies in Dresden, Breslau, Leipzig, Hanover and other places are supplied from Berlin, and kept under the centralization of semi-official organization.

Of the great financial organs, the best is unquestionably the "*Frankfurter Zeitung*," which is perhaps the best paper in Germany. It is subject to Jewish influence, and is read all over the country. On foreign affairs it follows the direction of the Foreign Office. Its Berlin correspondent is admirably posted on the intricacies of inner policy, and frequently his despatches reflect the opinion of the German Government. It is very careful not to wound Russian susceptibilities; for the good reason that the Tsar, who got to know it in his Darmstadt days, still takes it and reads it regularly. Thus, during the massacres of Jews in Russia, this Jewish organ saw no anomaly in publishing advanced pro-Russian leaders.

In Berlin, the great financial organs are the "*Berliner Tageblatt*" and the "*Boersen Courier*," which are controlled by bankers and financial magnates, and profess Liberal tendencies. Of these two, the "*Tageblatt*" is the more important politically. It is a good paper with a big circulation, and it is the "safe thing" to read it, as it opposes Social Democracy. One sees officers glancing at it in cafés, and it is fond of assuming occult political information. In its leader it frequently assails the Government; it leans towards English constitutionalism, and is a force in the political world—eminently respectable and readable. Frequently, too, it is "well informed." Sometimes it breaks loose and bitterly attacks Governmental policy—but not for long; the next day, as likely as not, an article will appear of a conciliatory nature. Practically its influence, so far as foreign politics are concerned, is semi-official.

"Aunt Voss," or the "*Vossische Zeitung*," of Berlin, is neither wholly political nor wholly independent. It is the accredited organ of Liberalism, with excellent art and literary criticisms, a wide public, and, with the "*Lokal-Anzeiger*," possesses the largest advertisement institution in the country. The revival

of Liberalism has imparted increased political lustre to its prestige. Sometimes it takes a strong independent line, advocating reforms, attacking existing institutions, and embarking on revolutionary crusades of all kinds. But it has the heart of a maiden aunt, and its imprecations frighten nobody; very often it is well informed, and as a general rule may be regarded as thoroughly acquainted with, even if it does not always follow, the views of the German Foreign Office.

Military Junkerism is represented by the "*Kreuz-Zeitung,*" which is the organ of the military classes and of German aristocracy. It is often quite independent and attacks Government and parties alike with refreshing detachment. In this paper Professor Schiemann expatiates once a week upon foreign politics. He is a personal friend of Emperor and Chancellor, a Pan-German, and speaks with unique authority on foreign affairs. As a Russian, he naturally is pro-Russian and in consequence an Anglophobe. He journeys frequently to and fro between Berlin and St. Petersburg to sound, propound and expound. He knows far more than he says, and is one of those personages whose posthumous reminiscences *à la* Hohenlohe would be an interesting human and political document. The "*Kreuz-Zeitung*" is read by the military aristocracy all over Germany. It supports the *Kaiseridee,* or the belief in the divine right of Kings, the Imperial policy of over-sea expansion, and is the literary expression of Prussian reactionism.

The great Catholic organs are the "*Kölnische Volkszeitung,*" published in Köln, and the "*Germania,*" of Berlin; but of course in every Catholic city the party maintains its own journal. Both are subject to inspiration, but not consistently so, and they stand primarily and essentially for the single Catholic interest.

Then, too, there is the Socialist press, the leading organ of which, the "*Vorwärts,*" is published in Berlin. The "*Vorwärts*" is a very well-written journal, purely partisan, always hostile to the Government and always interesting and instructive. It is never inspired. Any one wishing to follow German public affairs must read it, as it provides the most intelligent and exhaustive criticism of German politics and institutions, and is sometimes extraordinarily entertaining and witty.

A word must be said about the "*Zukunft,*" Maximilian Harden's weekly, which is the German "Truth." Harden is a fanatic-

al Bismarckian, a brilliant writer, critic and dialectician, and his organ is much appreciated by all sections of the community. The "*Grenzboten*" is another review which still maintains its Bismarckian reputation for political knowledge; and as such must be read by the student. The purely Pan-German organs, headed by the "*Alldeutsche Blätter*," are useful, though wild and irresponsible; nor must the political influence of the German pamphlet system be left out of account—most Germans having written a pamphlet or so some time or other; nor the publications of the Navy League, and the tangle of so-called literature which invariably crops up on all important political questions.

This exhausts our summary. The point to note is that on foreign affairs the German press is invariably subject to official control, as is the official Telegraph News Agency, and that its object is purposely educational. To maintain that the German press has nothing to teach is not to understand it. It is the "best press" any Government can boast of; dull, and lacking in understanding of modern journalistic enterprise, but to the student the most instructive in all Europe.

AUSTIN HARRISON.

RESULTS OF BRITISH NAVAL CONCENTRATION.

BY ARCHIBALD S. HURD.

THE full political significance of the reorganization of the British Navy, which has lately been completed, has not been realized. The map of the world is very infrequently studied by persons outside the Naval Intelligence Department in the great capitals for the purpose of seeing how naval power is distributed over the seas. Ships of war are continually being ordered from one station to another; and, if there were no newspapers to record the movements in international politics, any intelligent student of affairs, with an atlas before him, could form a fairly accurate impression of the trend of friendships and jealousies from the manner in which the respective naval Powers group their naval forces on the various great ocean highways. If the British redistribution scheme is examined by this method, it will be found that it supplies very gratifying evidence of the continued growth of cordial relations between the British Government and Japan, France, Italy and, notably, the United States of America.

Prior to the decision to reorganize the British sea-going forces, the Admiralty was maintaining an enormous preponderance of ships of war in the Mediterranean, was keeping two large groups of cruisers patrolling the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the American continent, and had in full commission in China waters no fewer than five battle-ships, eight cruisers and a similar number of sloops and gunboats, in addition to torpedo craft. At the same time, a small squadron of cruising vessels was stationed on the West Coast of Africa, a larger squadron was based upon Simonstown, Cape Colony, and there was a considerable array of strength in Australian waters, on the one hand, and in the East-Indian seas—not excluding the Persian Gulf—on the other.

This wide distribution of naval power had been inherited, with practically little change, from the time of the Napoleonic wars and of the troubles between Great Britain and the United States, while in the Far East the accumulation of naval war material had been due to the action of Russia. When at last it occurred to some one, and if the truth must be told that some one was Admiral of the Fleet Sir John Fisher, to take an atlas and find out what justification existed for such a distribution of power, it was found that the time was overdue for a very considerable rearrangement.

The majority of the officers and men of the Fleet were engaged in cruising in vessels of slight fighting value in waters which were far removed from probable scenes of conflict. Great Britain was on the most cordial terms with all the Powers in the Mediterranean, and yet she still persisted in parading the Midland Sea with a fleet of huge proportions, including over a dozen battle-ships. In the Western Atlantic, nearly a dozen cruisers were continually under the orders of the Admiral in command of the historic North-American and West-Indian station, whose duty consisted in making peaceful but purposeless cruises, luxuriating in the invigorating climate to be enjoyed in Canadian waters in the summer months, and hibernating under genial and pleasant weather conditions in the West Indies during the colder months of the year. Then, on the other side of the American continent, yet another Admiral was busy making the best of life as it is led on the Pacific coast. Why, it was asked, is it necessary for Great Britain to keep a dozen battle-ships in the Mediterranean, where month after month is devoted to the pleasant interchange of friendly courtesies between Powers more or less completely bound together in the determination to preserve the *status quo* in this region of the world? What foe, it was also asked, are all the cruisers wandering about the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of America prepared to meet and defeat? In these waters it was realized that the only possible enemy was the United States. Had it not been an axiom in the political relations of the countries, it was further inquired, that war between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race was a hideous spectre which had been laid because it outraged the feelings of both countries? Moreover, if these friendly relations did not, as a matter of fact, exist between Great Britain and the United

States, of what use, it was suggested, would the two squadrons of the Atlantic and Pacific, consisting entirely of vessels without armor belts, be against the massed squadrons of battle-ships flying the Stars and Stripes.

Again, when it came to an examination of the reasons which had led to the assignment of a large naval force to Far Eastern waters, it was immediately recognized that the whole naval position had been completely altered in consequence of the alliance formed by Great Britain with Japan. On the other hand, in consequence mainly of the progress of the German Fleet, the naval position of Great Britain in the English Channel and the North Sea was becoming year by year increasingly threatened. Owing to the large number of officers and men required for manning the battle-ships and cruisers in extra-European waters, where no trouble threatened, a large portion of the armored ships of the Empire, and almost all the torpedo craft, lay in the dockyards without officers and without men. It had long been the custom to calculate, in a rough-and-ready way, the naval strength of Great Britain by the number of ships which she possessed, rather than by the number she could put to sea in an emergency, fully stored and with crews adequately trained in their war duties. At this date, every naval harbor in the United Kingdom was crowded with men-of-war, some so old as to have far exceeded the span of useful existence, and others so comparatively modern as to deserve a better fate than to lie month in and month out without an officer or seaman on board. With a naval personnel exceeding 131,000, the resources of the Admiralty were unequal to the task of even providing the best ships in reserve with reduced crews, and of the horde of torpedo craft only about a score were maintained in a condition of preparedness for action. Year by year, great additions had been made to the number of torpedo craft, and only a small section of this most important division of the Fleet was kept at anything approaching a condition of war readiness.

Success in naval war depends upon a delicate combination in peace time of human intelligence and skill with the best available war material. Ships in reserve which are hurried to sea in charge of strange deck officers and men, and of engineers and stokers who are unfamiliar with their mechanical equipment, must become merely horrible shambles when brought face to face

with the foe adequately trained for war. The total expenditure on the Fleet at this time was approximately £40,000,000, and owing to the crowded state of all the Royal Dockyards demands had already been formulated for extensive naval works, in order to provide additional docks and fresh space for anchorage adequately defended by fixed defences. Then there was an inexorable need for newer and more efficient men-of-war; and, in consequence of the demands for officers and men for the large number of weak men-of-war patrolling the waters of friendly States, a further large augmentation of the personnel was inevitable. It appeared as though, in the then existing course of naval routine, Navy Estimates amounting to about £60,000,000 annually would be presented to Parliament at an early date, imposing upon the taxpayers of England an unparalleled burden. The situation was one calculated to arouse the gravest anxiety, particularly in view of the energetic measures adopted by Germany with a view to creating a great Fleet efficiently organized for war, and within three or four hundred miles of the eastern and least defended coasts of Great Britain.

In these circumstances, the scheme of British naval reform was considered and finally adopted. A little calculation showed that the officers and men who were required for placing the reserves of ships in a satisfactory condition were already in existence, locked up in the non-fighting ships spread out over extra-European waters which in the existing political situation could not become the scene of naval conflict. On the other hand, it was readily ascertained that the vast assembly of obsolete and obsolescent men-of-war which had congregated at the naval ports not only did not represent any reserve of strength, but, owing to complications which their existence introduced into the naval organization, were a distinct hindrance to any progress towards a more efficient marshalling of the British naval resources. In the then existing condition of the Fleet, ships at home and men abroad were deteriorating for want of reasonable and coordinated organization for war. Fighting-ships were moored in lifeless lines in the naval harbors, while the officers and men required to man them cruised up and down the coasts of friends and allies, carrying out a purposeless routine, not merely unconducive to war fitness, but distinctly tending towards naval decadence. The secret of war efficiency lies in concentration. Then and then only

is a spirit of emulation excited. Only then is emulation in warlike drills aroused between ship and ship in the first degree, and between group and group of ships in the second degree. Under the scheme of distribution which dissipated the naval strength of Great Britain over all the world's seas, irrespective of the political circumstances of the hour, ships were cruising in an isolation far from splendid in its influence upon officers and men. British naval expenditure had reached a standard representing the maximum outlay for the minimum result.

Consequently, when it was finally decided to withdraw the naval squadrons in the North and South Atlantic and the squadron on the Pacific coast of America, and to recall and put on the scrap-heap a number of non-fighting ships which were sauntering up and down the coasts in other parts of the world, and at the same time to clear out the naval lumber which crowded the home ports, at one and the same time a policy of naval economy and war efficiency was initiated. It was instantly discovered that the plans for additional docks and anchorage could be torn up. The proposals for adding to the Navy a large additional number of officers and men could be abandoned. The estimates which had been prepared for repairs upon ships which could never do efficient service in war could be struck out. Several small dockyards in distant peaceful waters, which had hitherto been maintained on a war footing, could be reduced to cadres, and simultaneously a naval organization could be introduced representing a higher standard of war efficiency with a far lower standard of expense.

It is very much cheaper to maintain a ship near a home port than in foreign waters, and in no country is this advantage so great as in Great Britain, where the cost of living and the outlay upon coal, victuals and stores of all kinds is specially low. A vessel which is stationed within steaming distance of a British port is provided with coal, stores and victuals at first cost, and a very low first cost; whereas a man-of-war which is stationed in foreign waters has to be debited with the very heavy expenditure due to the outlay upon transport, while, in the case of perishable goods, contracts have frequently to be made in expensive markets. Another advantage attaching to withdrawal of ships from distant waters is that the pay of officers and men, instead of going into the pockets of foreign tradesmen and others, is spent among

those who actually pay the taxes by which the Fleet is supported. The elimination of so many old ships in the home ports, ships which were tinkered from year to year and thus accounted for a considerable amount of labor, led to a large reduction in the number of dockyard hands. But this policy of economy was offset by the increased spending power of the Fleet in home waters, and thus experience has shown that never in time of peace have the British naval ports been in a condition of such abounding prosperity as now. The labor displaced found employment in other channels.

The scheme of redistribution of British naval strength involved some loss, more sentimental than actual. The North-American and North-Pacific Squadrons were withdrawn, and thus the naval supremacy of the United States was left absolutely uncontested, in recognition of the good faith of the American people, and as a tangible admission of Great Britain's hearty concurrence in the Monroe Doctrine. The United States has taken upon herself the *onus* of maintaining the *status quo* on the American continent; and, by withdrawing her naval squadrons, Great Britain tacitly affirmed her acceptance of this great central principle of American national policy. As a naval Power, the United States is bound by every incident in the history of the Republic to maintain her position as the supreme naval Power on the American coasts. The only vessels of the British Fleet in what may be regarded as American waters now comprise one little sloop on the Pacific coast, merely to show the flag, and three small cruisers based upon the West Indies, to carry out police duties and keep the natives in order. It is well, in the interests of the friendship of the two peoples, that the public should realize the significance of this change of naval policy.

In the Far East, an even more significant moral may be drawn from the reduction in the China Squadron. Time was when the British Fleet in Chinese and Japanese waters was as supreme as the British naval forces in the English Channel. The Royal ships in China waters acted as the protectors of white traders of whatever nationality, and was busy, month in and month out, in putting down piracy, not only on the high seas, but up the rivers of the Celestial Empire. As the grasp of Russia upon China increased during the nineties and the early years of the present century, so Great Britain, with a firm determination to

maintain her position, repeatedly strengthened the local squadron. The growth of the Navy of Japan vitally affected the situation; and, when the Government at Tokio indicated its resolve to preserve, if need be by force of arms, the integrity of China and the nominal independence of Korea, and thus secure the future of the Japanese Empire itself, Great Britain willingly struck a bargain and agreed to keep the ring, while Japan freed China and Korea and herself from the alien domination which was slowly being imposed upon these countries. Until the struggle was over, the China Squadron of Great Britain was maintained at full strength, but as soon as the last remnant of Rusian naval power had been broken in the Sea of Japan, the British battle-ships were ordered to return to Europe, and the squadron was reduced to a strength of four armored cruisers, two protected cruisers, and a number of small craft for river work, together with half a dozen destroyers. From a fighting fleet it was transformed into a fleet primarily intended to carry out police duties in view of the importance of British commercial undertakings in the Far East, and in the last resort to cooperate with the Japanese Navy in defence of common interests. By this action, the British Government virtually gave its adherence to a Japanese political principle in the Far East equivalent to the Monroe Doctrine of the United States.

Force of circumstances has compelled the British authorities to admit that British naval power can no longer be world-wide, as in the days when Great Britain held absolute supremacy in commerce. Competition in naval armaments in local waters, with the United States on the one hand and with Japan on the other, was admitted to be not only hopeless, but unnecessary, and even dangerous to the mutual interests of these countries. It was argued that both these Powers had given their cordial adherence to the principles of political and commercial liberty in support of which British naval forces in the Far West and in the Far East had been employed. The Republic of the Far West and the monarchy of the Far East had risen to a sense of their responsibilities in their own immediately adjacent waters, and in perfect reliance on the good faith of the two nations Great Britain handed over to them naval sway in the Atlantic and South Pacific. To-day there are two Monroe Doctrines; in the Far West the United States stands guardian, and in the Far East

Japan, for her own preservation, and, as events will show shortly, with the consent of all the Powers of the world, is taking upon herself a similar responsibility.

The new scheme of British naval distribution has been criticised. It has been suggested that the British flag is not shown in sufficient strength in extra-European waters; but the real fact is that the British flag, as a commercial asset of admitted value, has never stood higher than to-day. It is true that a number of small, slow, non-fighting vessels are no longer creeping up distant coasts with the Union Jack at the main, sauntering into this port and into that. But, on the other hand, the withdrawal of these small and unimportant craft has furnished the British authorities with officers and men to man squadrons of large, powerful and imposing cruisers, which are frequently engaged in ceremonial voyages to distant parts of the world. Never before in the history of the British Fleet has the Union Jack been seen more frequently or supported with more dignity than during the past two years, when Prince Louis of Battenberg, Sir Alfred Paget and Rear-Admiral George Neville have successfully paid visits to Canadian, United States and South-American ports, apart from the frequent presence of Rear-Admiral F. S. Inglefield's squadron of large cruisers which spend the autumn and spring months in the temperate climate of the West Indies, with contingents of boys completing their training for naval service.

The effect of these changes upon the efficiency of the British naval organization for war has been remarkable. It was immediately possible to fit out another sea-going fleet, manned and armed for any eventuality, and gradually yet another fleet has been called into existence with attendant cruisers and auxiliaries, and all the torpedo craft of the British service have been manned in exact proportion to the haste with which they will be required on a sudden outbreak of war. In 1904, there were only sixteen battle-ships in British waters, together with eight armored cruisers, six protected cruisers, twenty-four destroyers and a few torpedo-boats. All the remainder of the ships of the British Fleet, nominally in reserve, lay idle in the dockyards and harbors, unmanned and with hardly a semblance of organization for war. The British naval machine has now been tuned up to a higher standard of war efficiency. The task is not yet complete, but the fruits of the bold scheme initiated by the Admiralty less than

three years ago are already apparent in the imposing naval forces organized in the English Channel, the North Sea and the Mediterranean. Ten armored ships—six battle-ships and four armored cruisers—together with four small cruisers and twelve destroyers, keep watch and ward in the Mediterranean; and, apart from the routine of naval training, they are occupied chiefly in further cementing the friendly relations which exist between Great Britain and the Mediterranean Powers. Fully manned, constantly cruising, and being maintained month in and month out at war strength, Great Britain has now massed in home waters three great fighting fleets, the Channel, Atlantic and Home Fleets. The innovation in this organization is the Home Fleet under Vice-Admiral F. C. B. Bridgeman and five Rear-Admirals, which is divided into three divisions, one based on the Medway, at the mouth of the River Thames and therefore overlooking the North Sea; another on Portsmouth, the most easterly British war port in the English Channel, and another on Devonport, which is further west. In the existing political situation, and particularly in view of the *entente cordiale* with France, the burden of naval responsibility has shifted from the English Channel to the North Sea; and, consequently, the head and front of the Home Fleet is stationed at the Nore. It consists of six battle-ships, including the "Dreadnought," and six armored cruisers forming the Fifth Cruiser Squadron. It is intended that eventually this latter force shall consist of swift ships of the new battle-ship-cruiser type, with an advantage of six knots in speed over the swiftest German battle-ship, and a considerable superiority of gun-fire at modern ranges. Half the battle-ships of the German Fleet carry nothing better or more powerful than an obsolescent 9.4-inch gun; while the main armament of the British battle-ships at the Nore is the serviceable 12-inch gun, and eventually each of the cruisers will carry six 9.2-inch guns of a new and particularly powerful type. Associated with this force at the Nore are five small cruisers and a large number of auxiliary ships, besides forty-eight of the most recent torpedo-boat destroyers and a flotilla of submarines.

If this were a complete picture of the advantage gained by the scheme of redistribution, it would more than compensate for the disadvantages upon which some criticism has been centred. As a matter of fact, however, these fully manned battle-ships, cruis-

ers and torpedo craft based upon the Nore and continually cruising in the North Sea, are merely the ever-ready section of the new Home Fleet formed as a result of the scheme of naval reorganization. Behind this imposing naval force are the Portsmouth and Devonport divisions. These two other sections of the Home Fleet consist of ships which, under the old régime, would have been in the dockyards and harbors without officers or men. Now they are part and parcel of the fighting Fleet. Each vessel has its captain, chief executive officer, torpedo, gunnery and navigating lieutenants, and all the essential skilled ratings upon which the fighting efficiency depends. Each vessel has approximately three-fifths of its full complement, and the remaining two-fifths are available at short notice without calling out a single man of the reserves. These ships can be brought from a nucleus state up to war strength and sent to sea at a few hours' notice. In the case of the torpedo craft at these two ports, the delay would not amount to more than four hours, as has been shown by experimental mobilization.

Under the old scheme, the British Fleet could not be mobilized without a Royal proclamation calling out all the reserve forces. During strained relations, such procedure would have inevitably tended to precipitate war. Under the new scheme, the whole of the Home Fleet can be despatched to sea fully manned, victualled and stored, without recourse to any such dramatic and dangerous machinery. Periodically, the Devonport and Portsmouth divisions with their nucleus crews proceed to sea for a week or ten days, during which they carry out the ordinary drills and, in particular, attention is devoted to gunnery. This is a remarkable development from the state of affairs when the reserve ships lay deserted and inert. These two divisions comprise seven battle-ships and over twenty-five cruisers, besides upwards of sixty torpedo-boat destroyers, thirty-six torpedo-boats and the reserve section of the submarines which have been recently added to the British Fleet. Yet another section of the Fleet comprises what are termed "special-service vessels." These are obsolescent ships, which have merely care and maintenance parties on board to keep them in condition to be brought forward for service in an emergency; they are England's forlorn hope. This plan of reorganization has been carried out without denuding harbor ships of their crews or interfering with the

classes under training at the various instructional establishments, such as those devoted to gunnery, torpedo, signalling and navigation, the last-named being an innovation. Moreover, it has been accompanied by a notable increase in the general efficiency of the naval personnel, due, no doubt, in large measure to the spirit of emulation which is always engendered when large masses of ships are collected for the purpose of naval training.

The net outcome of the scheme of naval distribution, apart from its political aspects, to which attention has already been called, is that the striking-power of the British Fleet has been at least doubled. In the opinion of the late Prime Minister, Mr. A. J. Balfour, this is a very moderate estimate of the accession of strength due to the provision of nucleus crews. Great Britain now has in full commission in the English Channel, the North Sea and the Mediterranean thirty-two battle-ships, eighteen armored cruisers, fifteen protected cruisers and sixty torpedo-boat destroyers, apart from the nucleus crew ships. This total includes the Nore Division of the Home Fleet, the naval forces massed under the orders of Admiral Lord Charles Beresford and forming the Channel Fleet and First Cruiser Squadron, the Atlantic Fleet and Second Cruiser Squadron, under Vice-Admiral the Hon. Sir A. G. Curzon-Howe, based upon Berehaven and Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean Fleet with the Third Cruiser Squadron under Admiral Sir Charles Drury. Each of the two last-named officers has at his command ten armored ships, six in each case being modern battle-ships.

This naval organization is the direct result of the scheme of redistribution; and it has been effected with an economy in the Navy Estimates amounting to six millions sterling a year. Great Britain is the only naval Power which has reduced its naval commitments in recent years, and the saving has been accompanied by an immense increase in strength in the adjacent seas, which are the fulcrum of European political development.

ARCHIBALD S. HURD.

THE NEW WESTERNER.

BY CHARLES MOREAU HARGER.

I.

THE story of the material development of the West has been an instructive serial with constantly increasing interest in its chapters. Not all the incidents making up the marvellous narrative have been pleasant ones—anti-climaxes have mingled with inspiring situations; but each has had its part in bringing out of vast sodded plains and wealth-lined hills an empire of rich farms, prosperous towns and thriving cities. Through it all has run the tale of frontier struggle against nature, conquest of the desert, adaptation of methods to new conditions and comparative triumph over climatic surprises and engineering difficulties.

In acres, bushels and dollars has been expressed with exuberant liberality the measure of the West's success, generally disregarding the moulding influence of thirty years or more of trial upon the people themselves.

A third of a century, broadly speaking, has gone into making the Westerner of to-day, and it has evolved a type differing much from that of the beginning, and often corresponding little in its chief characteristics with the popular conception distant communities have formed of it.

The settlers of early days were dreamers. Whether they sought the West to found homes on newly broken sod, or were to join the army of traders and storekeepers brought into service by the increasing population, they had one hope in common: to make a fortune in a short time, then return to the old home "back East" and live in comfort ever after. They were animated by the same spirit as were the Argonauts who toiled toward the gold-fields of '49. Veterans of the Civil War, disappointed in

business when the conflict ended, looked upon the virgin lands as offering opportunity for conquest, but it took hard fighting to bring victory out of the bare soil. The speculators and country merchants met with reverses as often as did the farmer. Both classes remained in the West: each made discoveries, and in the end each attained to success—but the soldier reared his family where he took his claim, and the business man saw years slip away before he enjoyed even a short trip to the old home.

The Texas cattle trail, opened from the Gulf into central Kansas in 1867 to meet the first railway across the plains, formed a north and south highway that led Southerners into the fertile lands. Three million cattle were driven over the trail in 1870-71, and with them journeyed representatives of a vast Southwest industry. As the railway pushed on to the mountains and branch lines reached down into the Staked Plains, the movement of cattle on the hoof ceased, but that of men did not, and Cavalier mingled with Puritan in the development of the great granary of the nation.

The sturdy immigration from Europe, Scandinavians from the north and Germans from farther south, with tens of thousands of English, Irish and Canadians in every commonwealth made up the cosmopolitan population which was to unite in the task of conquering the desert. The lesson has been learned through tribulation, and its mastery has fused the varying elements into the modern type which is practically a new generation.

The dwellers in the somewhat indefinite area which we term the "Middle West," extending from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains and excluding the States bordering on the Gulf, are essentially a farming people. Of 3,352,000 engaged in gainful pursuits, according to the recent census, 1,713,000 are devoting their attention to agriculture. The hardship inseparable from opening new crop areas attended their early trials. Remote from neighbors, lacking in implements, harassed by debts when crops failed, and with insufficient knowledge of climatic conditions, they spent the first years of pioneer life in a somewhat serious pursuit of happiness.

As the big ranches have been broken up and the size of farms decreased, the solitude of the homestead has vanished, and there have entered into the life of the prairie-dweller many elements of contentment, driving out the old-time longing for the child-

hood home, even if it be not forgotten. The older generation, the one that has put in long years of middle life on the plains, never will forget.

"I see by the paper," remarked a grandfather two hundred miles west of the Missouri River, as he read a village journal published in a little western New York town, "I see that they are having lots of snow down home." Down home! It has not been his home for a quarter of a century, yet the old associations held fast, and unconsciously he deemed himself a sojourner in a strange land. Tens of thousands of those village papers fluttering each week in the prairie dwellings keep alive the sentiment of youth for the native abiding-place, the East.

The new generation, as well as the one that came West in childhood, now grown to manhood's and womanhood's estate, knows nothing of this. To such the West is home. Western ways and Western ideas are inbred—the wind-swept farm, with its struggling cottonwood grove, is as dear as ever was to the parents some New England cottage, with giant elms and rustling beeches overshadowing its moss-grown roof.

Perhaps the most lasting influence in the making of a Westerner was the poverty of early days. For there was poverty, with its accompanying trials, in most families. It did not always show on the surface, but, hidden beneath the couponed mortgage note and revealed, when crops were scant, by the overdue store accounts, it existed in positive form. Talk with most old settlers and they will tell you frankly of this.

"We would have been on our feet," commented a now prosperous stockman, "if the wind hadn't turned to the north one June day in '79. We had two hundred acres of wheat on the bottoms, and it was ripe for harvest. Grain was worth almost a dollar a bushel, and it was good for thirty bushels to the acre. On the afternoon before we were to start the harvesters, a hailstorm came out of the northwest and went down the valley. In two hours the wheat, instead of standing as high as my head, was levelled to six inches. We did not gather a bushel. Of course, the mortgage was foreclosed and we began over again."

Then there were dry years, before the farmers learned that some crops will do nearly as well in drouth as in moisture. It was no modest test of courage to see the corn wither and the grass burn beneath the hot winds of July, knowing that upon

the result of the summer's growth depended the retention of title in the land. Little wonder that discouraged men and disheartened women, mistaking the cause of their disaster, rebelled against political affairs and howled for the destruction of the "Money Power"! It was merely the savage protest of the primitive nature which sought from the object nearest at hand redress for suffering.

Out of those years came the class of "movers," dwellers in "prairie-schooners," who roamed aimlessly here and there as opportunity seemed to offer improvement, and finally, as a pistol-shot gave the signal, made one tremendous rush across the border of Oklahoma and halted on Indian reservations to essay again the settler's task of home-building.

The turn of the tide, the beginning of the change that was to influence so greatly the nervous, quick-tempered and sensitive Westerner, came in 1897. Six years of indifferent crops—not failures, but such uncertainty as made it difficult to meet the large obligations incurred in the boom days earlier—had succeeded 1890, the year of awakening from the West's dream of sudden empire. In that time a quarter of a million people moved out of western Nebraska and Kansas. The population of most prairie States decreased, and into prominence came the class of political leaders whose advice was to raise less corn and more of the unmentionable region. Yet through it all ran an enforced economy, a rigid balancing of resources and outlay, a planning for the future and a determined effort to get rid of the incubus of debt afflicting the West.

This process so manifestly strengthened the finances of the dwellers on level lands that they were attaining to a semblance of independence, even had there come no marked change in crop production. They had overcome the boom spirit, had moved the surplus houses from the town "additions" to the country, had learned some lessons in the rotation of crops and were raising alfalfa, kaffir corn and sorghum to assure themselves of "roughness" should a winter come with a short supply of maize. But radical politics yet held sway; there was a disposition to harass the railroads with stringent regulations; the Westerner was still at odds with investment interests and was half convinced that he was being abused by Wall Street.

In the mining regions and on the great ranches the conditions

had become encouraging. The Cripple Creek gold-fields had given Colorado an impetus toward prosperity, increased by the advance of irrigation on the foot-hills. Cattle prices were reviving in the ranch country, and the stock industry was just about beginning the boom that was to make—and break—dealers two or three years later.

The West was prepared for a business revival that should not only benefit the bank accounts of its people, but have a lasting effect on the trend of their social and mental life.

II.

The material welfare that has come out of the eight years of abundance is easily outlined. It is expressed in a catalogue of cancelled mortgages, new dwellings, refunded bonds, swollen bank deposits and improved belongings. The prairie farmer, with his free rural delivery route, his rural telephone, his rubber-tired top buggy and attitude of independence, has become a familiar figure in current literature. He is interesting and worthy of study. He is not, perhaps, quite so luxurious and plutocratic an individual as he is often pictured, but he occupies a very comfortable place in the economic world.

The influence that has come from this betterment of the Westerner's condition has been manifested in a modified and broadened outlook on life. In some sections the transformation has been marvellous. For instance, in Oklahoma City, where seventeen years ago not a white man had foothold, a population of 30,000 now possesses every modern appliance for ease and comfort. Electric cars traverse the streets over more than 30 miles of track, and groups of Indians, lazily watching the innovation from merchants' doorways, make vivid contrast between the old and the new civilizations. Interurban trolley lines will be in operation a hundred miles west of the Missouri before the end of the current year. Life's enjoyable features which have been monopolized by the East for a decade are moving across the country, as processes of manufacture are cheapened and the ability of new communities to obtain them is met by lessened expense.

The Western States boast a great deal about their bank deposits. It is true that a single bank of New York City has as much money in its coffers as do all those of Kansas, for in-

stance—but, in the latter case, the savings are not trust funds or speculators' accounts; they are those of tens of thousands of hard-working citizens and represent long days of toil beneath burning sun. The ownership of the farmers' comparatively plethoric bank books have had a liberalizing effect. The fateful things promised during the days of financial darkness have been forgotten. The capitalist, while perhaps not considered a comrade, is looked upon as having rights—an attitude once unknown. There is no more talk of electing judges who will refuse to order mortgages foreclosed. For one thing, there are few mortgages to foreclose; and, for another, the Westerner is in favor of enforcing the law to the utmost, since the local loan fund is a staple source of investments in these latter days.

Likewise, it tends to conservatism. The man who seeks bonds for the promotion of a scheme must make a strong argument or fail. The towns look warily on industries that need a bonus. The demand for independence has spread to the minor factors of development, and has caused a more manly position for every community. No antagonism to the East is mingled with this; the West is not so vain as to think it can live by itself alone; it merely stands sturdily with a smile on its face, confident that it ranks as an equal in the development and growth of a great nation.

The Westerner of to-day is a seeker after education. The schools of the West are of exceptional merit. They are for the most part managed by young men; vigor is seen in every movement. The salaries are small, and often the better educators are tempted by much-endowed institutions to seek other fields, but their places are taken by the product of the plains, usually broadened in its view by a touch of post-graduate work in some Eastern university. In the early days, colleges were as much a part of the boom town's equipment as a carriage-works or a sugar-mill—and about as much fitted for the place. Many of the boom colleges have passed away. Consolidation has lessened the numbers of the remainder, and the schools of the West are becoming proportioned to the actual needs of the people. The students in them are workers. In the State University of Kansas, 47 per cent. of the students are paying their own way, earning the money for their own education. In Nebraska, the proportion is about the same, and, even as far east as Missouri, 30 per cent. are earning

all the money for their schooling, and half are partly paying their own expenses.

Out of such experience come manliness, courage, ability. The first generation of Western students has entered into the life of the plains as men and women, and their influence has of itself given to the communities in which they reside a higher ambition. Public libraries are common; women's clubs are everywhere, even out to the "short-grass country" near the foot-hills of the Rockies; lecture courses and classic plays are appreciated. The new Westerner is a well-informed and thinking person. He reads and studies as much as does his Eastern brother or sister, within the limits of his leisure hours. It has broadened his views and brought a contentment into the one-time dreary existence of the frontier.

This sentiment is reflected in the Western newspapers, good indices of the communities in which they are published. Seldom does one find an "Arizona Kicker" in Western journalism. The early-day editors, who delighted in wars of epithet and abuse with their "esteemed but loathed contemporary," have nearly passed away. The few remaining have been softened by the influence of the times. The new generation, grown up in the West and in sympathy with Western conditions, is "moulding public opinion." The prevalence of sanity and good-will, together with intelligent comment on affairs of the day, is noticeable. The average Western paper in a small village is better than its counterpart in an Eastern town of similar size. This may be explained on the ground that it has a wider field and is less harassed by the proximity of cities. Its influence spreads far and its editor is rarely a "fire-eater."

All these conditions bear fruit in the social life of the West. In early days, there was little social distinction. Every man's history "began with the day before yesterday, and no questions asked." The parties were free-for-all, and the balls open to the public. That condition exists to some extent in the remote forefront of the wave of immigration, but for the most part its day has gone. The clannish spirit is not prominent, but division lines are drawn, and the natural differences of temperament are seen in the function of the times. The towns are naturally most progressive in this, though in the country districts the spread of advanced ideas has been rapid.

Homeseekers' excursions bring thousands of Easterners to the West, but "old home week" and the various national gatherings, offering low railroad rates, take other thousands to the former home "back East," to revisit the scenes of childhood. Such visits do much good. There is a return to the West with new ideas, with better sense of the greatness of the country, with a clearer perspective and a larger liberality. In the days when the West was too poor for these journeys, it harbored exaggerated ideas of the possessions of the East. Now it knows that the East is little to be envied—that there is about as much happiness on the prairies as on the boulevards. It has taken back plans for colonial porches and mission furniture, and has learned some things about town-building.

One of these is the advantage of manufactures. All over the West are springing up small manufacturing plants that have for their object the utilization of raw material, or the supplying of a demand that is confined largely to the plains country. Cotton-mills in the Southwest, harvesting-machinery makers in the wheat belt, brick, tile and cement in the oil and gas region—the West is living up to its opportunities.

Thus, on his intellectual and constructive sides the Westerner has had a period of upbuilding and of development. It would be, indeed, remarkable if it had not brought to him a more perfect understanding of the possibilities that are his. The opening of a new empire in the Orient, with its enhancement of Pacific coast trade, has opened to him an outlet for his overflowing products never before dreamed of; the Gulf traffic has taken one-third of his exports to Europe—little wonder that he feels himself a central figure of the nation, equal in standing to any, or that he looks to future years of greater power.

III.

The first generation of Westerners was stern-faced and anxious, with small capital but sturdy faith. That goodly company has passed away. Another is on the stage—the West, that vast granary with indefinite boundaries and with overflowing hopes, has reached a new period of its development.

The pioneer was the beginner. His stout arm guided the plough across level leagues of greening sod; his earnest heart withstood the privations of early years. He was a hero in his generation,

a conqueror of greater things than the kings of old, a forerunner of the incoming of the plain's riper fruitage. Nothing is better established in the study of mankind than that we are influenced by our environment. The Western people reflect the conditions among which they are placed. Upon the plains have mingled the descendant of the Quaker and the offspring of the European; the emigrant from Atlantic slopes and the wide-hatted native of the Gulf borders. To all have come the same training of vigorous strife, the sharpened wits of frontier rivalry, the sympathy of equally modest beginnings. It would be strange if out of the years of stress there came not a character fitting the freedom, the energy, the enthusiasm of the great West. Perhaps the busy years have robbed them of some of that well-balanced ambition for culture which should go hand in hand with the acquisition of wealth; perhaps the insistent restlessness that seems a part of the very air of the plains has restrained the true home-making art of the American; but the foundation has been laid, and already Western communities are giving more thought to the needs of mind and soul.

Is it not fair to expect that the new Westerner, with less anxiety concerning business success, will be more generous in his social, artistic and educational development, rounding out his life more fully with the fair embellishments of culture, and thus reflecting greater honor on himself and on his rich domain?

Is it not fair to anticipate a new type of American; the outgrowth of the lessons learned, of the experiments tried, of the wisdom sought, of the promise and assurance of to-day? In him shall mingle the frugality of the East and the good old-fashioned courtesy of the South. He will prize his possessions most for what they give in the refinement of character; he will cherish success for what it yields in wider opportunity for good. In the stretching areas of sod he will see, with the poet of the Sierras,

> "Room, room to turn round in,
> To breathe and be free."

The Westerner has emerged from the experimental period of his history. That there will come again lean years and days of discouragement, none can doubt; the skies will not glow forever with promise. But the manner in which the man of the New West meets reverses will mean much. Schooled in the variations

of the seasons, he will not stake all his fortune on one crop or one product. He will encounter drouth complacently, as becomes one who knows crops that thrive nearly as well in dry weather as in wet; he will greet the furnacelike south winds contentedly, as he looks at whirring windmills lifting moisture from the earth's bosom for herds and gardens; he will try no more to build a metropolis at every cross-roads. He will admit that the prairie is not omnipotent. The watchword of the new time is "Stability." After four decades of trial, he has pinned faith to those things that make for permanence; he conserves the wealth the plains possess, rather than seeks for that which is not there.

The New York banker may have some alarm about finance and may spend anxious hours over the stock fluctuations—but the Western farmer jogs along the country road between towering walls of corn and in sight of golden stacks of wheat, his wagon filled with gleaming cans of cream, unconscious of it all. When he depended on one crop alone, he had fits of depression and proceeded to express himself in weird kinds of politics; now, while the grass grows and the sun shines, his prosperity is assured. He is making haste to seek other channels of development—he can exert his superabundant energies in making the West rich in the adornments of all that art and life can give—as it already is in every-day necessities of existence.

The new Westerner is as proud of the plains as were the pioneers; as valiant in their defence; as eager in their eulogy—but he exaggerates less and qualifies more. The West is being pictured as it is, and in dealing thus in candor and frankness its children are establishing their fortunes on surer foundations.

The Western farmer used to think men with wealth did nothing but live at ease, and he howled for the destruction of the money power. Now he has money of his own, and finds that he has to work as hard to take care of it as he did to earn it. He appreciates the obligations of being a capitalist and is cautious about tinkering with the currency.

They say the wheat belt has moved westward. That is not it. The land has moved eastward. It has come under the influence of moister skies, or, what is the same thing, new methods of agriculture have conquered the desert—and there is no frontier.

The pioneer of the plains is a reminiscence. His white-hooded prairie-schooner is little more than a dream.

"Unused, forlorn and gray it stands,
A faded wreck cast far ashore;
The Mayflower of the prairie lands—
Its journey o'er."

The boomers and the promoters have had their day. They operated on wind, but there is another circulating medium now. Some have reformed; others have gone—some to their long rest, some to Mexico and some to Canada.

The new Westerner is another type—the clear-headed, stout-hearted, frank-faced man of the plains; the product of years of trial, of experiment, of triumph. He trusts not in luck, but in sense and system and preparation; he builds not for a day, but for decades; he is manifest on the distant reaches of the "short-grass country"; he is the rustler of the prairie village; he walks the pavements of progressive cities; he believes in colleges as well as in corner lots; he asks sanity and high ideals in the plans for the growth of the West.

Tanned by the prairie winds, warmed by the glowing sunshine of the level lands, standing where meet the trade currents of North and South, with command over both, the New Westerner has in his grasp a glorious destiny, and he seems capable of living up to its possibilities.

CHARLES MOREAU HARGER.

THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES.

BY GEORGE GRISWOLD HILL.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, during his six years in the White House, has propounded several broad and distinct economic propositions, one of them, at least, being essentially new. These propositions, taken together, form that political creed popularly referred to as "the President's Policies," although Mr. Roosevelt is convinced that they have been accepted by a large majority of Republicans, and that they constitute the political issues for which the Republican party stands. Certain conservative leaders in the party describe Mr. Roosevelt's policies as ultra-radical. Those who have followed his leadership in their economic reasoning regard them as reasonable, judicious and progressive. Whether Mr. Roosevelt has succeeded in inscribing these policies indelibly on the Republican escutcheon, or whether they will pass away with his administration, his party returning to the tenets of the conservative faction which has hitherto been synonymous with Republicanism, constitutes the chief issue in that epoch-making campaign which is already inaugurated, and which will not end until the adjournment of the Republican National Convention, next June, if it ends then.

Briefly stated, Theodore Roosevelt's policies consist of the exercise of the right of Federal control over interstate commerce to remedy or eradicate those economic evils with which he believes the States are unable to cope, and the exercise of the taxing power of the National Government to prune what he has described as "swollen fortunes," and in a measure to equalize those inequalities in the distribution of wealth which, he believes, have resulted from entrusting to the several States a task which they are unable to perform.

In fearless devotion to his honest convictions, the President has

given utterance to his belief that the Federal Government must supervise the workings of practically all corporations engaged in commerce between the States and with foreign nations. In his last annual message, he declared that "in some method, whether by a national license law or in some other fashion, we must exercise, and that at an early date, a far more complete control than at present over these great corporations . . . a control that will among other things prevent the evils of excessive overcapitalization, and that will compel the disclosure by each big corporation of its stockholders and of its properties and business, whether owned directly or through subsidiary or affiliated corporations." An examination of Mr. Roosevelt's public utterances reveals a gradual development of this idea extending back over many years.

An opportunist, as well as an economist and a politician, Mr. Roosevelt has not wasted his time in vain promulgation of a theory for which the people were not prepared; but he has lost no opportunity of guiding his party toward that well-defined goal which he regards as essential to the public welfare, and under his skilful leadership giant strides have been taken toward an end which, had they perceived it as clearly as did their leader, would probably have driven the legislative leaders of the party in quite the opposite direction.

He seized upon the uncovering of pernicious railway methods and the resentment which popular knowledge of these evils enkindled to secure the enactment of the Railway Rate law, whereby a commission of the National Government is authorized to declare what shall constitute a just and reasonable rate for transportation, and to compel the carriers of the country to respect its decisions. Beginning with his annual message of 1904, he undertook the education of the Congress to the necessity of such legislation; and, finding his progress slow, he availed himself of the opportunities afforded by his public speeches made before Congress met in the following year, to educate public sentiment to a point where its almost omnipotent force would compel the national legislature to carry his recommendations into effect.

The Railway Rate law was not, however, the only long stride toward Federal supervision of all corporations doing an interstate business taken under the leadership of Mr. Roosevelt. That law hardly goes as far, for instance, as the Meat-Inspection act.

The clever and ingenious methods which the President employed to create and foster a public sentiment which would compel Congress to enact that measure, including the publication of the sensational report of his special investigation of the packing industry, are well remembered; but the extent of Government control and supervision authorized by the law, which confers on Federal inspectors the right of access at any hour of day or night to every part of the establishment of any packer who seeks to send his product across a State line or the national boundary and which positively prohibits common carriers from transporting any packing-house product which does not bear evidence of Government inspection, has been generally lost sight of in the widely felt relief that there can no longer exist the appalling evils which the law was framed to remedy.

The National Food and Drug act, identical in spirit with the Meat-Inspection law, and differing from it only in the methods employed to accomplish its purpose, constitutes still another long stride in the direction of Federal control, and goes far to bridge the chasm between the unrestricted operations of corporations created by the States and that Federal supervision which Mr. Roosevelt regards as essential to the success of his party and the welfare of the nation. Taken together, these laws have put into effect national supervision and control of a vast number of industrial operations, including all common carriers, the meat, drug, grocery, canning, liquor and numerous kindred industries. And, radical as have been these legislative measures, for the enactment of which Mr. Roosevelt is almost solely responsible, the dire results predicted by those engaged in the interested industries have entirely failed to materialize, and no one of them has served even to check the steady progress of that general prosperity for which the Republican party claims, and is generally accorded, credit.

It may be objected that the recent depreciation of certain railway securities disproves, at least in part, the assertion that the legislative enactments for which Mr. Roosevelt is responsible have promoted rather than decreased the prosperity of every industry affected, and certain prominent railway managers have recently complained to the President that, as a result of his policies, the public has lost confidence in their securities, and that they find themselves unable to raise the capital needed to

make those improvements of trackage and equipment which are necessary to meet the demands of a steadily increasing commerce. To all who have made this complaint, Mr. Roosevelt has replied by asking if certain stock transactions, recently brought to light by the Interstate Commerce Commission, have not been the real occasion of the loss of public confidence, and if Federal supervision of stock and bond issues would not give to railway securities a stability which would insure their ready sale at a reasonable figure. He has also pointed to his last annual message, in which he described overcapitalization as perhaps the "chief" railway abuse, as "generally the result of dishonest promotion," and said of it: "Such overcapitalization often means an inflation which invites business panic; it always conceals the true relation of the profit earned to the capital actually invested, and it creates a burden of interest payments which is a fertile cause of improper reduction or limitation of wages; it damages the small investor, discourages thrift, and encourages gambling and speculation."

In his next annual message Mr. Roosevelt expects to deal with this question at great length, as he purposes to make it one of the chief issues of the next session of Congress, while it is entirely likely that between now and next December he will avail himself of some of the opportunities afforded by his public speeches to impress upon the people the advantages to be derived from such legislation, and thus to secure to the representatives of the people such encouragement as may be necessary to offset the warnings and protests of those who regard all change as a menace to their interests.

Mr. Roosevelt believes that all combinations, even though they may be in restraint of trade, are not necessarily evil. He has advised Congress that "the power vested in the Government to put a stop to agreements to the detriment of the public should, in my judgment, be accompanied by power to permit, under specified conditions and careful supervision, agreements clearly in the interest of the public." And, while he may not specifically recommend an enactment authorizing traffic agreements, commonly called "pools," he would doubtless approve such a law if the railways should see their way clear to give their cordial support to his policy of Government control of stock and bond issues.

On April 14th, 1906, the President publicly expressed his con-

viction that "we shall ultimately have to consider the adoption of some such scheme as that of a progressive tax on all fortunes." This idea he has gradually developed until the imposition of an income tax and of a graduated inheritance tax by the National Government has come to constitute one of his most important public policies. A discussion of these forms of taxation, coupled with an earnest recommendation of legislative action, will constitute one of the striking and forceful features of the President's next annual message.

No feature of the President's policies is more widely misunderstood than his attitude on the tariff. He has long believed that the time has arrived when revision of the Dingley tariff act is advisable. True, there have been evils which he has regarded as of paramount importance—as, for instance, the granting of railway rebates, overcapitalization, etc.; but on a number of occasions he has summoned the leaders of his party and sought to impress on them the advisability of tariff readjustment, only to learn that the determined opposition of Speaker Cannon and his associates in the House constituted an insuperable obstacle. On one occasion, in his annual message of 1904, he went so far as to give notice of a special message in which he would urge tariff revision. He wrote, "On the subject of the tariff I will address you later." But the earnest representations of the leaders of his party that tariff revision would be impossible at a short session and that notice given so far in advance of a special session to be called for this purpose would seriously unsettle business led him to order the line quoted to be stricken from the message after the advance copies had been furnished to the press. In January, 1905, he secured the assent of the Senate leaders, not excluding Senator Aldrich, who has long been known as "the high-priest of protection," to a special session for tariff revision to be called soon after March 4th; but the continued opposition of the Speaker and a few other leaders of the House demonstrated the futility of such a course. Mr. Roosevelt is now of the opinion that it would be unwise to attempt tariff revision in the coming Congress, but he will exert his influence to commit irrevocably the Republican party, in its next national platform, to the programme of summoning Congress in special session to revise the tariff, immediately after March 4th, 1909.

After his attitude toward the tariff, no policy of Mr. Roose-

velt is more widely misunderstood than that which concerns our insular possessions. His sole desire and intent, in so far as the Philippines, Cuba, Santo Domingo and Panama are concerned, is to guide them to a point where they can govern themselves. He has asserted with vehemence that the mere thought that the United States must always retain its present possessions, or that it might be compelled to annex Cuba or Santo Domingo or Panama, makes his heart heavy. He is striving to educate these people in the difficult art of self-government, to inspire them with patriotism and to develop that stability of character which alone can make possible that stability in their national existence for which he hopes and strives. In the case of the Philippines, he has always been a consistent and persistent advocate of delegating to them every measure of self-government for which they seemed prepared. He witnessed the necessity of the return of the United States to Cuba with sorrow, and it is his determination that this time the work, not only of establishing a national government at Havana, but of fostering it until it shall be capable of inspiring that confidence which is essential to its permanence, shall be so thoroughly done as to obviate all danger of this country's having again to take over the control of Cuban affairs. The treaty with Santo Domingo, for which he sought so long to secure the approval of the Senate, and only recently succeeded, has for its sole purpose the avoidance of all necessity for interference by this Government and all danger of interference by any other. All these features of his insular policy the President clearly set forth in his letter to the Peace Conference in New York.

The foregoing constitute the important features of Mr. Roosevelt's policies, which he hopes to see enacted into law during the coming Congress, or to bequeath to his successor, for Mr. Roosevelt does not expect to succeed himself. On the contrary, he is determined that under no circumstances will he do so. The sincere belief of many of his friends that circumstances, during the next year, will so shape themselves that a majority of his party will insist on his renomination with a unanimity which he cannot resist, he dismisses with vehemence.

Does Mr. Roosevelt, however, seek to name his successor? He does not. He believes it would be improper for him to exert his influence as President to promote the interests of any individual

candidate. Personally, he regards William H. Taft as the ideal man for his successor. He believes that Mr. Taft's naturally judicial temperament, his eleven years' experience on the bench, his exceptionally capable administration as Governor-General of the Philippines, his competent direction of the Isthmian Canal, his extraordinary diplomacy in dealing with the difficult situation which confronted him in Cuba, his close association, as member of the cabinet, with all the more important affairs of the nation during the last three years, have constituted an experience and demonstrated an ability which render him peculiarly fitted for the responsible duties of Chief Executive.

Theodore Roosevelt's loyalty to those policies for which he is responsible, and which he believes to be the policies of the great majority of the Republican party, will lead him, not to attempt to dictate his successor, but to exert his influence to prevent the nomination of any Presidential candidate unfitted by sympathy and conviction to carry on the work where he leaves off.

GEORGE GRISWOLD HILL.

MOHAMMEDAN MARRIAGE, DIVORCE AND DOMESTIC RELATION.

BY GEORGE S. BATCHELLER, ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF APPEALS (MIXED COURTS) OF EGYPT.

THE domestic relation, beginning with the rite of marriage, has been a subject of primal interest in all generations. Marriage and family relation is as old as the world, but divorce, through legal formalities, is of comparatively modern invention. "In the good old days" the devoted husband usually put out the marital candle in the Othello or Blue Beard style, and it may have been noted that the modern Blue Beard of Chicago, who recently paid the penalty of an assassin, practised the ancient system of separation quite in accordance with well-known precedents.

In different countries and different states, various laws and customs prevail as to the manner in which the family relation may be established and disestablished, and to the degree in which the relation may be "accumulated" and maintained as a domestic institution. The laws and customs pertaining to the family in so-called "civilized" countries are familiar to all, and I propose here to discuss and illustrate these relations among the people of the Mohammedan religion, whose laws and customs are so little understood, and almost universally denounced as barbarous, inhuman and immoral. In the first place, marriage is almost universal among the Mohammedans. There are no "old maids," and very rarely "cocottes," in the ordinary acceptation of the term. This latter class is recruited from divorcées, widows without children or other family ties. As a rule, no young man is considered fitted for business, or entitled to the confidence of the community, until he is engaged or married. Not infrequently, quite young children are "engaged" by their

parents or guardians, and it is seldom that these early obligations fail of fulfilment in more mature years. A young man may marry at the age of fifteen, and a girl at twelve. These prearranged marriages are very common, and it is seldom that the husband looks at the unveiled face of his bride until after the formalities are accomplished. Still, the law allows him to see the face and hands of his intended once before marriage. There are, doubtless, disappointments at the first interview, though those are usually family secrets; and the bridegroom is supposed to philosophically observe that "beauty is only skin deep," and the bride, no doubt, possesses all the other qualities that go to the creating of the happy fireside. Then he may console himself with the knowledge that he may make three other trials in order to fill up his cup of domestic bliss, and the door of divorce is always open through which he may retire without serious opposition.

The personal statutes of the Mohammedan set forth in minute detail the rules pertaining to marriage and divorce, and prescribe the duties and obligations of both parties during the marital relations.

Article I provides that all women free of conjugal ties, and widows or divorcées, after the legal "retreat," may be demanded in marriage; but a candidate for the fair hand can only express a desire of marriage to a divorcée or widow after the expiration of one year. The marriage contract is purely a civil obligation, and may be proposed by either sex, or by the parents or guardians of either. Two witnesses are required, who must be of full age and of the masculine sex, but one man and two women may be accepted as witnesses. The marriage may also be contracted in writing if the parties are not present, and the writing is read aloud in the presence of the necessary witnesses.

Like most European countries, the question of dowry or "*dot*" forms an essential part of the marriage contract. In Mohammedan lands the husband only is obliged to provide a dowry for his bride, which varies in amount according to their respective pecuniary situations. In the absence of a fixed sum, this is regulated by the custom of the province in which the marriage takes place. This dowry is paid directly to the bride in whole or in part, and in case of non-payment she may maintain an action against her husband for its recovery.

The trousseau of the bride, whether provided by the parents or from her own separate estate—which may consist of her personal wardrobe and the furniture of the household—is the inviolate property of the wife. The husband can make no claim on any part of it; he may not oblige her to place the furniture which belongs to her at his disposal, nor at the disposal of his guests; and, should he use the same or take possession of any part of the trousseau, the wife may pursue him in the courts in restitution or in payment of the value in case of its loss or deterioration. The intervention of a magistrate or religious authority is not essential; but if the marriage is contracted without the above conditions it may be annulled by a magistrate on the application of either party.

The Koranic law does not require a record of either marriage or divorce; but, in most Mohammedan countries, the civil authorities have provided for this defect.*

There are several prohibitions to marriage which apply to near relations and to questions of religious belief. Mohammedans may marry Christians and Jews, but no one may marry a woman who has not a "celestial religion." "Idolaters, sun-worshippers, adorers of the stars," and, in fact, all whose religious belief is not founded upon some "sacred book" are eternally forbidden to Mussulmans.

The Mohammedan law authorizes the legitimate marriage of four wives, nor can that number be exceeded, unless, of course, to replace one divorced or deceased.

Polygamy among the Mohammedans is regarded as a moral institution. They do not pretend, like the Mormons, that it is based upon divine or religious authority, although they cite abundant precedent as revealed by the sacred books of religions, including, of course, the "Testament" of the Hebrews. There are legal restrictions pertaining to this feature of the domestic relation. No man may have a plurality of wives, unless he is able to maintain them according to their rank or social position. If they desire, each wife must be provided with a

* It is an interesting fact that, until quite recent date, no authentic records of marriages have been required or kept in various States of the Union, nor have existing laws been rigorously observed, and I venture to say that, in the cases of a very large percentage of citizens, it would be impossible to furnish legal proof of the marriage of their parents or more remote ancestors.

separate residence, and is not required to maintain social relations with, or even to make the acquaintance of, the others. Should her husband fail to furnish wardrobe, support and servants suited to her estate, or should he neglect her personally, she may cite him before the Cadi, who will require him to manifest perfect impartiality, and to fulfil all his marital duties. The children all stand upon the same footing; and, in fact, children "*born in a household,*" whether the mothers be wives or "servants," are legitimate heirs of the father, and in inheritance share with their brothers and sisters of the "regular" household. It is an interesting fact that there are scarcely any bastards in the Mohammedan world—it is not a disgrace to be born of a slave in a Mussulman's household. The father of the present Khedive, Tewfik Pasha, was the son of a slave; his father, Ismaïl Pasha, only married her after he had obtained from the Sultan a firman, fixing the inheritance to the Khediviat in his oldest son.

Several of the princes of the Khedival household are likewise sons of other than the four wives of Ismaïl, and their princely rank or social status is never questioned. Polygamy is rapidly decreasing in Egypt. The Khedive Tewfik, father of the present Khedive, had only one wife, a beautiful and accomplished woman, still living. The present Khedive has only one wife. It is "the fashion" now for all high personages to follow the "European plan," and one rarely hears of the existence of polygamy among the higher classes.

Among the fellaheen, or peasantry, this institution still prevails to a limited extent, usually as a matter of domestic economy, where all must work to maintain existence. The personal statute prescribes with care that the marriage shall be "assorted" to persons of the same social grade. In a marriage contract through parents or guardians, if the husband be inferior to the wife, such a marriage is radically null. The equality in Islamism, as far back as the grandfather, must be taken into consideration. Those who have recently espoused this faith are declared inferior. *Education is considered a patent of nobility.* "Nobility" acquired by knowledge and merit is superior to that acquired by birth. A "savant," who is not of Arab origin, is equal to an Arab woman of ancient lineage, and a "poor wise man" is equal to the daughter of an "ignorant opulent." "A

vicious man cannot be equal to a virtuous daughter of an honest man." The personal statute provides many additional rules and regulations governing as to the compatibility, both social and moral, of persons intending to enter into the marriage relation, but they are too technical and complicated to be set forth here.

It should be remarked that the street pageants so often seen in the Orient, and known as Mohammedan marriage, signify the home-coming of the espoused bride. Other gorgeous entertainments at the home of the bridegroom or father of the bride, in high social circles, may simply indicate the proclamation of the contract of marriage, even of children of tender age, to be consummated at some future day.

The marriage being consummated, the domestic relation is so minutely traced by law that there can possibly be no misunderstanding as to the respective duties of man and wife.

Quoting almost literally from the "Personal Statute," it may be said that the husband is obliged to treat his wife with kindness, to dwell in affectionate relation with her, to provide for her support, her clothing and her lodging. When there are several wives, the husband is obliged to treat each one with equality, especially in regard to their entertainment, the distribution of his attentions and company. He is obliged to visit alternately the habitation of each of his wives, for a day or several days, as he may distribute his time. The equality of this "frequentation" is obligatory, either by day or night, according to his other occupations. He may not give one wife an advantage to the prejudice of her associate spouse, nor remain in her presence longer than the allowed time, without the consent of the other wives. In case of sickness, however, he may visit the invalid beyond the prescribed time, until her recovery. When the disease is very serious, one wife may renounce her special rights in favor of another, but she may reclaim them at any time. In case of travelling from home, the husband may select one or more wives to accompany him; if he selects but one, it is better that it be by lot, but on his return he is obliged to equalize his attentions with those who have remained at home. If, after the husband has established the rotation of his visits with each of his wives, he fails to maintain that equality in favor of one or the other, the magistrate, upon the request of the wife interested, will ad-

minister a reprimand to the husband, and admonish him to be more just in the future. If, in spite of this judicial reprimand, the wife remains an object of injustice on the part of the husband, he becomes liable to a correctional penalty more severe, but not to imprisonment. The husband, though poor and ill, and in a state of decrepitude, or even of tender years, is obliged to provide for the support of his wife whether she be rich or poor, Mussulman or Non-Mussulman, very young or advanced in age, provided she is in a state of perfect health. These obligations apply even though the wife remain in the paternal home, unless the husband provides a suitable domicile. The husband is not discharged from the obligation to pay the expenses of his wives' support when in prison, even for a debt owing to a wife which he is not able to pay. If the husband has the means, he must provide for the domestics of each of his wives. The amount allowed to the wives for their support and maintenance is fixed according to their respective conditions. They should be sumptuous when both are rich, simple when both are poor, and medium when their conditions are unequal. In the latter case, if it is the husband who is poor, he will pay what he can, and any portion furnished by his wife becomes a debt of the husband, payable when his pecuniary condition is improved. The amount for support, if not agreed upon by the parties, may be fixed judicially, and may be varied according to the varying fortunes of the parties. The code provides for the establishment of these sums according to the profession, trade or occupation of the husband. Should the wife complain that her allowance is insufficient, the magistrate may summon the husband to render account of his income and to justify his failure to furnish the amount established; and, in case of failure to conform to the judicial order, the magistrate will cause his arrest, at the request of the wife, and, if he persists in this neglect, he may be condemned to imprisonment. The magistrate may also order the sale of all his personal property to supply the allowance of the wife. In case of distress occasioned by the failure of the husband to provide for support, the parents of the wife are obliged to maintain her and her children until other relief be found.

The wife is obliged to prepare the family provisions, but may claim payment for services if she performs culinary duties for his sole profit. Should the wife provide for the support of the

family from her own private estate, whether for her own maintenance or that of her children or husband, the amounts so advanced may be sued for and recovered of her husband, and she may judicially enforce this claim as if he were an entire stranger. The wife is not obliged to accompany her husband to the "*domicile conjugale*" even after the consummation of the marriage, until the dowry to which she is entitled by the contract has been fully paid and assured. She has the right to visit her father and her mother once a week, and other relatives once a year, but she cannot pass the night with any one of them without the express consent of her husband. She may receive visits from her mother and her father once a week, and from her other relatives once a year. The wife whose father, even not a Mussulman, is afflicted with a long sickness, may go to his bedside, and give him necessary care, without the consent of her husband.

The foregoing citations on the Mussulman domestic law might give the impression that the family relation differs materially from that of other peoples; but, notwithstanding these legal provisions, the Mussulman household is quite human and attractive. Affection and gentleness are the prevailing elements, and the devotion and solicitude of a husband for his family is worthy of all acceptation. While, in the Mohammedan kingdom, women do not mingle in miscellaneous society, nor expose their faces to the public gaze, their influence in the domestic circle is potent and often controlling; and any matter involving the welfare and interests of the family is seldom undertaken by the husband without the approval and counsel of the women of his household, of whom the chief personage may be the mother or grandmother. The affection of the Mussulmans for their children is strong and enduring, and there is no sight more beautiful than the happiness manifested by a father over the amusements and pleasures of the younger members of his household. Mohammedan women do not complain of their social restrictions; on the contrary, they look upon the liberty exercised by their sisters of other faiths rather as a derogation from the modest sphere originally assigned to the gentler sex. It has been said that the Moslem women have no spiritual or religious life, and that that quality was reserved exclusively to the men, but this is inexact. On the contrary, women whose pecuniary means will admit are educated in all the doctrines of their re-

ligion. They can recite large portions of the Koran; and, while they do not go to the mosque and pray in public, they invariably invoke the blessing of Allah upon their households, and carry to Him all their personal griefs. It is a well-known historical fact that, throughout the Mohammedan kingdom, women have exerted in many important events a potent and controlling influence. It has been "historically" stated that women are not accorded the same right of sepulchre as men, and yet the most imposing funeral rites I have ever witnessed in the East have been those of women. Even the Khedive Tewfik was buried with less impressive ceremonial than his mother, the fourth wife of Ismaïl.

There are many problems, perplexing to a Christian, bearing upon the interior life of the Mohammedan. That life is so hidden from public gaze that only an intimate personal relation with these families can reveal its true situation. The moral principle pervades these interiors quite as much as in Christian households. How often have I heard it said by old and young, "I would not do this, for it's not right," and many years ago I heard a little donkey-boy protest against conducting his English patron through a certain part of the city of Cairo "because it was wrong." The master of the group was attempting to force him to proceed with the others when I intervened, and asked why he would not go, and he said, "My mother told me it was a wicked part of the city, and I ought not to go there, or take any one with my donkey." I sustained his position, and he ever remained grateful to me for it. I have seen him grow to become a prosperous dragoman, who has served many an American family on the Nile. He has now retired with a competency, and there is no more respected citizen, no matter of what religious faith, in the city of Cairo. This is one of many similar incidents which have fallen within my observation during my long residence in the East.

Peasant women in Egypt do not labor in the fields, as they do in nearly every country of Europe. While they perform onerous domestic duties, grind the corn for bread, and carry the water for culinary purposes, they are seldom forced to drudgery, and the ambition of a poor man is to become able to provide servants for his family.

The respect and devotion of the young for the old and infirm

are beautiful to behold, and never does an older person enter an assemblage of younger without their rising, saluting, and remaining standing until he is seated; and in their festivities they manifest a lively solicitude that the old and infirm shall participate in and share all their enjoyments. Indeed, there are many customs and practices within the domestic sphere which would be worthy of imitation among people enjoying the advantages of "Christian civilization."

The severest criticism to be passed upon the marital relations is the facility with which it may be dissolved. "Repudiation" is the prerogative of the husband; the marriage contract may be broken at any time by his independent action, without invoking judicial sanction as required in most other countries. There is a distinction between "repudiation" and "divorce"; the latter is usually accomplished by mutual agreement, or some special condition supposed to sanction the act. It seems shocking to those accustomed to apply to the courts for relief from the marital bond that the husband should be permitted to send away his wife by pronouncing certain formalities, either orally or in writing, without the sanction of any public authority. The formula usually employed is, "I repudiate thee"; and this language is indispensable for the validity of the repudiation, and must be repeated three times, though this repetition need not necessarily be at the same time. The wife may not divorce her husband, unless she has stipulated this right in the marriage contract, in which case she may apply to the Cadi, who will pronounce a divorce without specific motives. This right of "repudiation" is not so frequently exercised as might be supposed, and it is a common practice where domestic infelicity leads to separation that a family council is invoked or convened by the older members, and a reconciliation is established. In actual practice, divorces are not more frequent in Mussulman families than in countries which boast of the privileges of the highest civilization and the benign influences of "evangelic" instruction. I venture to say that in the cities of Alexandria and Cairo divorces have not been more frequent in proportion to the population than in Chicago and, possibly, the enlightened metropolis of New York. In a recent public declaration, Judge Marcus Kavanagh, Chief-Justice of Cook County (Chicago), states that over two thousand

divorces were granted in Chicago in 1904, and in the country at large just as many in proportion to the population of the different communities. Judge Truax boasts of having excelled the records of his associates in the Supreme Court of the City of New York in granting eighty-one divorces in the month of March of last year. Of these, thirty were brought by husbands, and fifty-one by wives. It will be observed that the difference between the Mohammedan "personal adjudication" and that of a duly authorized judge, is not as great as might appear at first glance.*

Under the Moslem system, there is no disgrace or even humiliation associated with repudiation. The divorcée returns to her family, and after a year's delay (which might serve as an example in some other countries!) may remarry. The husband is obliged to provide for the maintenance of the children, and those of tender years accompany the mother. Should she have sons or daughters married and settled in life, they usually receive her and give her the maintenance and protection due to her as a mother. But the former husband may not remarry her until after she herself has remarried and become divorced or a widow.

In considering the character of any people, their origin and political history must be kept in view. Geographical and climatic conditions often have a preponderating force.

The Arabic race should not be confounded with the Turk or Circassian; the latter are entirely different people, and not here to be considered. The Arab is embued with sentiment, is a lover of the beautiful, both in art and architecture, as the Arabesque designs wherever found will attest. They are patrons of learning, and their schools abound in every province. Cairo possesses the finest Oriental library in the world, and the university of El Azar has an average attendance of ten thousand students. Most of their studies are devoted to the Koranic Canonical law, but the sciences and higher mathematics are also taught as an eclectic course.

Women of *all* religious faiths in the East are considered inferior to men, but this condition also prevails in Continental

* It is revealed by the preliminary estimates of the U. S. Census Bureau that during the period from 1887 to 1906 the applications for divorce in the United States reached the enormous total of 1,400,000; and that three-fourths of these applications were granted, giving a grand total of one million of divorces in the United States during the last twenty years.

Europe, where married women are still held under tutelage of their husbands, even in regard to the control of their separate estates. While the education of girls is unequal to that of boys, history recounts many instances where Mohammedan women have exerted great influence in the affairs of government, and have stamped their individuality upon the epoch in which they flourished. Influenced by his third wife, a woman of considerable learning, the Khedive Ismaïl caused to be constructed most extensive school buildings to be devoted to the higher education of Mohammedan girls; but this promising institution was suppressed, as a measure of economy, in 1896, through the English and French intervention in Egyptian financial affairs, and these beautiful buildings are now occupied by the administration of public works. A similar "economical" measure was employed in the suppression of the extensive schools for soldiers' children established by General Stone Pasha, the American chief of Ismaïl's military household. Schools for girls are now beginning to be revived throughout all Egypt, and the movement for the education of women is assuming extensive proportions in the land of the Nile.

A most interesting book has recently been published in the Arabic language by X— Bey, a member of the native law-court, in support of female education, employing the familiar argument that the mother who gives direction to the young idea should be trained and qualified for that responsible function. The wife of a young Mohammedan lawyer of my acquaintance possesses the educational accomplishments of any of her most-favored Christian sisters. She has achieved such success both in painting and music that her canvasses have been exposed in the Salon, and several of her musical compositions have been published in Europe.

No one familiar with this interesting race of people will venture to classify them as inferior in intellectual capacity to their Christian brethren of the East, although lacking in many of the educational advantages enjoyed by the latter; and while it is conceded that ignorance and superstition largely abound, that condition cannot be justly attributed *alone* to the followers of the Prophet, nor can they be excluded from their share of the nobler qualities which are the characteristic of a true civilization.

GEORGE S. BATCHELLER.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY OLIVIA H. DUNBAR, BRANDER MATTHEWS AND A. S. VAN WESTRUM.

"THE COUNTRY HOUSE."*

An almost superhuman power of perceiving what we rather tiresomely call "types" has enabled Mr. John Galsworthy to write two of the most remarkable of recent novels,—"A Man of Property," published last year, and "The Country House," which has just been issued. Each book is secondarily, but only secondarily, a satire upon a certain division of the English social system; Mr. Galsworthy must have been obsessed by the passion for human portraiture before he determined to write novels on economic themes. His portraits are almost precise literary equivalents of good cartoons,—strong, eloquent strokes, relentlessly unflattering, indisputably true and of perfectly unambiguous meaning. No indeterminate smudges destroy the sharp, clear black-and-white effect. Mr. Galsworthy is no more "subtle" than he is merely "obvious"; abrupt and elliptical as the cartoon must be, he is not in the least cryptic. Unlike the old-fashioned novel, idealistically wrought in oils, his very individual performances have no unnaturally emphasized foregrounds, no dim, discreet backgrounds. One character is as impartially drawn as another, and when the last figure in the group has been completed, the cartoonist simply stops. He is little more concerned with "plot," with dramatic sequence or climax, than is the life he so straightforwardly and conscientiously sketches.

"The Country House" is rather looser in texture, rather less insistent in idea, than the earlier novel. Inasmuch as there is nothing very new to say about the survivals of the feudal system in England, this picture of country society seems somewhat less

* "The Country House." By John Galsworthy. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

original, also, than that of those formidable "men of property," the Forsytes. Of the dryness and fatuity of the kind of life that this book portrays, many satirists have already written, although rarely if ever in such uncompromising and unsentimental fashion. One after another, there slip out the brilliant pictures of what might readily seem a dull group of persons,—not always visibly promoting the progress of the story, but at least invariably provoking the reader's astonishment and delight. Each chapter, that is to say, is a fresh and complete impression, and to a singular extent the book is one that may as profitably be read in isolated chapters as continuously. Didactically speaking, it is doubtless a fault if a novel have very little story interest and practically no suspense; but if Mr. Galsworthy can write a novel so much more entertaining than those of the people who observe all the conventions, one is disposed to waive the question of his method.

It is of the very nature of such astonishing observation as Mr. Galsworthy's that it does not extend to a profound depth. Not a single significant superficiality escapes it,—but there are hidden things that may. Or it would be juster to say that such a writer deliberately assigns himself a province, the province of manners, and consistently makes no attempt to transcend it. This book contains, however, one exception, in that very delicately perceived character, Mrs. Pendyce, the patrician wife of the old Squire, in whose tough-fibred density Mr. Bernard Shaw would take such diabolical delight. Mrs. Pendyce can scarcely be dismissed as a type, like almost all Mr. Galsworthy's faithful portraits,—like Mrs. Bellew, who was so good-looking that other women distrusted her; like Mrs. Barter, the long-suffering wife of the rector, with the "look of women who are always doing their duty"; like Lady Malden, who gave teas to working-men in the London season. These are all more lifelike than life, but there is a touch of elusiveness about Mrs. Pendyce. If the novelist is severe toward crass distinctions of wealth and "position," this one character would show him entirely tolerant of distinctions of race, of blood. His sympathetically pictured aristocrat is too delicately bred for assertion or revolt, and even the lifelong denial of the graces, beauties, as well as the little extravagances and recklessnesses that she covets, imposes on her no tragic suffering, only a kind of hopeless wistfulness. Mrs. Pendyce's excursion to

London, her flight from her husband to her son, is a bit of quite remarkable imagination, and by all means the finest thing in the book. Each of her successive impulses is as true as the disillusionment it leads to, and the discoveries made by this mother who has not yet outgrown her girlhood are pathetically inevitable. Sitting alone in Hyde Park, with youth and gayety before her eyes, she "felt like one of her own plants, plucked up from its native earth, with all its poor roots hanging bare, as though groping for the earth to cling to. She knew now that she had lived too long in the soil that she had hated; and was too old to be transplanted. The custom of the country—that weighty, wingless creature born of time and of the earth—had its limbs fast twined around her." But a much more overwhelming discovery was that her son was, after all, a Pendyce and alien to her. "It may happen that for long years the likeness between father and son will lie dormant, and only when disintegrating forces threaten the links of the chain binding them together, will that likeness leap forth." Thus there became manifest in George Pendyce what his creator calls a "provincial soul." Mr. Shaw, to whose mind Mr. Galsworthy's has a certain cousinly resemblance, could have imagined the congenitally provincial George; but to the delicacies and divinations in such a portrait as that of Mrs. Pendyce he would be conspicuously unequal.

The book is full of phrases and epithets, full of a thousand temptations to quotation. Too much, for instance, can scarcely be said in praise of such a disquisition as that on "Mr. Pendyce's Head," which, "seen from behind at his library bureau, where it was his practice to spend most mornings from half past nine to eleven or even twelve, was observed to be of a shape to throw no small light upon his class and character. Its contour was almost national. . . . His head, indeed, was like nothing so much as the Admiralty Pier at Dover,—that strange, long, narrow thing, with a slight twist or bend at the end which first disturbs the comfort of foreigners arriving on these shores, and strikes them with a sense of wonder and dismay."

Mr. Galsworthy's quality is an unusually positive one. The reader may frowningly reflect on the many things that he is not, but there is very little fault to be found with, so far as it goes, the thing that he is. What we are, after all, accustomed to is the spectacle of novelists imitating each other, and what we doubtless

weakly and half consciously miss in Mr. Galsworthy is an imitation of somebody else. But the virtues of these books of his are very distinctively his own, and they are the virtues not of facility, but of power. With greater facility, these novels would not have their present effect of choppiness; but they might also lack their sturdy sinew. The one thing that it would seem indispensable for him to develop, in order to become a novelist of genuine importance, is a dramatic sense. It is true that Mr. Galsworthy is already a dramatist, or at least a writer of plays; but in his novels, at least, he still treats his characters as isolated beings. When his characters come to develop some consciousness, one of another, when they come to be more closely and significantly linked together, this brilliant portrayer of manners may easily come to produce something of permanent value.

OLIVIA HOWARD DUNBAR.

RALEIGH'S "SHAKSPERE."*

IT is now almost thirty years since Mr. John Morley planned the English Men of Letters series and set the pattern for the American Men of Letters series edited at first by the late Charles Dudley Warner, and for the *Grands Ecrivains Français,* still edited by M. Jusserand. All three of these series have generally maintained a high standard,—the French series perhaps the highest of all. Mr. Morley contributed to his own series the admirable volume on Burke, and for Mr. Warner's series Professor Lounsbury prepared the excellent volume on Fenimore Cooper, a model of all that the biography of a modern author should be. It is true that Mr. Morley's good-nature allowed the volume on Sheridan to be undertaken by an incompetent hand; and it is true that since Mr. Warner's death there have been admitted into the American series several volumes—notably that on Prescott—which showed a lamentable falling off from the earlier standard.

It is a curious coincidence that the foremost figure in all French literature and the foremost figure in all English literature waited long before inclusion in the series wherein the less important writers of his language were early considered. Even now the volume on Molière, which M. Jusserand has confided to M.

* "Shakspere." By Walter Raleigh, Professor of English Literature in the University of Oxford. English Men of Letters. New York: The Macmillan Co.

Georges La Fenestre, has not yet appeared; and it is only now that Shakspere takes his place among English men of letters. The delay has been justified since it has resulted in putting into the skilful hand of Professor Walter Raleigh the difficult task of dealing with the greatest of dramatic poets in the brief compass of two hundred pages. Mr. Raleigh has already studied the careers and the characters of artists as different as Milton, Stevenson and Whistler. He has traced the earlier evolution of the English novel in what is unquestionably the best book on that interesting theme. He has recently been appointed to the newly established chair of English literature at Oxford, where he is the sole representative of a subject so important that in one American university it demands the services of ten professors with as many more tutors and instructors.

The first qualification for a writer on Shakspere to-day is common sense; he must have a clear head and an open mind; he needs sanity and balance more than anything else. Insight he ought to have, of course, and scholarship also, as well as sympathy and appreciation; but in dealing with Shakspere in these times of unrestrained and indiscriminate eulogy, he must possess, more than anything else, an unusual disinterestedness and an unusual desire to tell the truth exactly as he sees it and no matter how unwelcome it may seem. And all these qualities Mr. Raleigh has revealed in this little book, especially the most needful of all,—common sense.

Shakspere's work is not all of a piece; it is not all of equal excellence. We know this, all of us; yet few of us seem willing to admit it. But we fail to appreciate fully the power and the art of "Hamlet" and of "Othello" if we do not see clearly the weakness and the slipshod handling of "Cymbeline" and of "Timon of Athens." Professor Raleigh declares boldly that "more than one or two of these plays as they stand in the Folio, are, to put it bluntly, bad plays, poor or confused in structure, or defaced with feeble writing" (page 108). He dares to assert that "Troilus and Cressida" is "a bad play, crowded with wonders and beauties" (page 116). He perceives that Shakspere's "bad Kings Richard III and John, are not wholly unlike the villains of melodrama" (page 183). He denies the scholarship and the omniscience with which Shakspere has been foolishly credited. He shows that Shakspere is careless in anachronism,

in geography, in history, and even in natural history. He knew a great deal about nature, but his cuckoos and his nightingales, his toads and his bees, are creatures of fable and not of fact (page 37).

Although Professor Raleigh expresses the rather venturesome opinion that Shakspere's "continued vogue upon the stage is the smallest part of his immortality," he recognizes more clearly than most commentators the central fact that it was for the stage of his own time that Shakspere composed his plays. He sees plainly that Shakspere, intending his dramas to be performed by actors in a theatre and before an audience, had perforce to adjust them to the actors of his company (page 38 and page 102),—to fit them to the conditions of the rude playhouses of his time, with the bare platform jutting from under the gallery from which hung the arras ready to be looped back when need was to show the interior of a tent or the like (page 119),— and to take thought constantly about the likings and the prejudices of the groundlings and of the gallants who crowded to see the acting of his plays (page 26). Just as Sophocles made his great dramas to hold the interest of the Athenians seated along the curving hillsides of the Acropolis and just as Molière sought to win the favor of the fun-loving burghers of Paris, so Shakspere had to "study the tastes and expectations of his audience and indulge them with what they approve."

It may be questioned whether Professor Raleigh is quite as full as might be wished in his consideration of Shakspere's dramaturgic craftsmanship, although he does show a keener appreciation of it than is common among Shaksperian commentators. After all, it must ever be kept in mind, that Shakspere, even if he is a poet, a philosopher and a psychologist, is primarily a playwright, making his living by writing plays for the theatre of his own time. It is in his consideration of Shakspere as a poet and as a creator of character that Professor Raleigh is seen at his best. He has not the full appreciation of the Elizabethan background revealed so richly in M. Jusserand's history of English literature; he lacks the interest in the mechanism of play-making which made Professor Barrett Wendell's analysis of the successive plays so suggestive; and he does not reach up to the loftier insight into tragic form which lifted Mr. A. C. Bradley's "Shaksperian Tragedy" far above the level of such ordinary critical

comment as was to be found in Mr. Stopford Brooke's recent volume of essays.

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

"VICTOR HUGO'S INTELLECTUAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY."*

SHORTLY after the death of Victor Hugo, in 1885, was begun the publication of his posthumous works, the stately volumes falling from the press with a frequency that filled the world with amazement at the productive power of the Titan—an amazement that was quickly succeeded by indifference. Outside of France, the greatest name of nineteenth-century literature fell into a kind of premature semi-neglect rather than semi-oblivion; the rest of the world, frankly speaking, had received more of him than it cared for. What it retained of him was his earlier work, and of this chiefly his prose, which, being translatable, alone could hope for that kind of international popularity which works its way downward among the masses. To-day only "*Les Misérables*" is found there, as is but natural in an age of ever-growing social unrest, but even that classic has been left behind by the spirit of the day. "*Notre Dame de Paris*" still keeps it company, but "*Quatre-vingt-treize*," "*Han d'Islande*," "*Bug-Jargal*," "*L'Homme Qui Rit*" and "*Les Travailleurs de la Mer*" are forgotten.

Hugo's poetry, by far the nobler part of his literary work, has shared among the international few the fate that has overtaken his prose among the international many. It has been relegated to the class-rooms of colleges, and to the library of the special student of French literature. It is not kept in the company of Homer, Shakespeare, Dante, Goethe on the shelf of the lover of immortal literature, a familiar friend to be taken down at odd moments for solace and profit and stimulation. Whatever the ultimate verdict of literary history, the present generation has relegated Victor Hugo to a place in the second rank, because, with all the sonorous majesty of his strophes, the inexhaustible wealth and beauty of his imagery, he lacks a consistent, profound, original philosophy of life—what the Ger-

* "Victor Hugo's Intellectual Autobiography." Translated, with a Study of the Last Phase of Hugo's Genius, by Lorenzo O'Rourke. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

mans so felicitously term a "*Weltanschauung.*" It is its content that makes poetry immortal, not mere form, however grandiose, nor adornment, however dazzling. Victor Hugo has been called the Michelangelo of literature by headlong enthusiasts, its Turner by more impartial critics. In the perspective of a quarter of a century, the comparison with Gustave Doré appears to be the most exact of all.

These observations are called forth by the enthusiastic introductory "Study of the last Phase of Hugo's Genius," which Mr. Lorenzo O'Rourke has prefixed to his translation of the poet's "*Postscriptum de Ma Vie,*" just published in this country under the title of "Victor Hugo's Intellectual Autobiography." The book, which dates from the exile in Guernsey, was withheld from the public, so we are given to understand, for many years by Hugo's own directions—exactly why, one fails to see. It was issued in France on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of his birth, in 1902. The work will detract nothing from Hugo's fame, it will certainly add nothing to it. These eleven essays on literature, art, God, religion, the soul and immortality are characteristic of his artistry, of his consummate mastery of the majestic phrase, of his fertile fancy, of his luxuriance of powerful image and arresting metaphor, of his facility of grasping and elaborating the ideas of the moment "in the air," but also of his poverty of deep original thought. The literary essays, which open the volume, are, in the final analysis, but thinly disguised directions for posterity to follow in the formation of its final judgment of the genius of their author — directions pointing to Homer, Æschylus, Dante and Shakespeare, which Mr. O'Rourke has gladly followed. They will be found in the chapters on "Genius and Taste," "Genius" and "The Utility of the Beautiful." The religious and philosophic chapters that follow bear the intellectual stamp of their period, and by it are relegated to the past—the stamp of the middle of the last century, with its religio-evolutionary uncertainties and questionings, long since reconciled in the simplest minds, and laid to rest by the thinking world. Here the absence of vigorous independent thought is most strikingly seen. It is all reflected from without, and throughout visualization takes the place of interpretation, numerous and gorgeous images that of speculation. The whole book is but a last illustration of Hugo's incomparable

gift of phrase-making, of his self-consciousness, his egotism, his reliance upon a superb, but purely external, literary gift, upon a craftsmanship that apparently never was in close communion with its possessor's essential inner self, which, instead, always looked abroad for stimulation to the intellectual, social or political preoccupations of the hour. Victor Hugo sought, first of all, fame, not self-expression. One can apply to him Lowell's characterization of Gladstone as "a gentleman who can extemporize lifelong convictions." He was ever a *poseur*.

He posed, also, as a man of prodigious erudition. Whether he was or no, it would be difficult to decide: there have always been two opinions on the subject. We may safely assume that he thoroughly knew, and loved, and understood, and appreciated Homer, Æschylus, Dante, Shakespeare; that was but part of his craft. But one finds here numerous instances of what can only be described as the scholarly pose. In the essay called "*Promontorium Somnii*," for instance, there occurs obscure illustration after obscure illustration of the superstitions of classical antiquity and the Dark and Middle Ages, unknown customs and names never encountered before, and never to be seen again by any but the most specializing of special students. No wonder that the translator occasionally betrays his bewilderment. What are *alungles, asproles, unguliques, spurgeflex* and *voultes?* Hugo, in his large way, does not stop to explain such familiar inventions of mediæval diabolism. And does not "*Berbiguier de Terreneuve du Thym*" look gorgeously erudite? One is glad to learn that he "used to pass his time in catching demons between two brushes which he would violently rub together." But when one discovers in the end that all this display of learning is lavished, not upon a study of demonology, ancient and Gothic, but upon an elaboration of the quite familiar fact that the superstitions of the Pagan world were not dissipated by Christianity, but survived in far more forbidding, crasser forms, one suspects that it was all "read up" for the purpose, to be forgotten the moment it had served its turn. But, for all that, these pages have the grand manner that distinguishes every line written by this master hand.

Of the remaining contents of the book, little need be said. They are mere sketches that might better have been left unpublished and untranslated. That on "Great Men"—Shake-

speare, La Fontaine, Voltaire, Beaumarchais—is utterly unimportant; from the "Thoughts" that close the volume nothing can be taken worth preserving, except, perhaps, "Change your opinions, keep to your principles; change your leaves, keep intact your roots." The essay on the French Revolution, a mighty subject, indeed, turns out to be but another image, of a flood of miserable humanity bearing the barge of autocracy on its lacerated bodies, and ultimately dashing it upon the rocks.

A final word about Mr. O'Rourke's introduction. It is not a study, but an unqualified panegyric, in the spirit of Swinburne's extravagant homage, and, as has already been said, in that of Hugo's own complacent, if indirect, suggestions. "He is a primitive genius appearing at a modern period, and confronting the age of science. . . . He is a primitive genius of the Homeric strain," these are phrases taken bodily from him. Mr. O'Rourke is suggestive when he deals with Hugo's artistry; he claims too much when he denies all limitations to his talent. He is clear-eyed enough to see, with Swinburne, that "it is as a lyric poet that Victor Hugo has distanced all rivals"; he elaborates very ingeniously the proposition that Hugo saw life, not in colors, but in light and shadow, in black and white; but, when he claims the most exalted inspiration from within as the cause of that "auto-intoxication" which Hugo displays in so much of his poetry and his prose, he enters upon debatable ground. The psychology of Victor Hugo is too complicated, and it has been too little studied thus far to allow of such an offhand decision. Hugo had trained this power of self-intoxication to such a degree that it had become an almost mechanical trick. Hence, in his work, a not infrequent lack of proportion between treatment and theme, ever the one majestic sweep of giant wings, the same soaring at the same great height, however close to earth his subject. A genius he was, but he made the genius serve the craftsman, not the craftsman the genius. Mr. O'Rourke would place him, at his own suggestion, beside Homer, Dante, Shakespeare. Let us leave him, instead, in this period of the neglect that apparently always follows a great writer's death, and precedes the determination of his definitive place in literature, in the company of two immortals of still uncertain ultimate standing on the mountain-top—Molière and Goethe.

A. SCHADE VAN WESTRUM.

WORLD-POLITICS

BERLIN: WASHINGTON.

BERLIN, *July, 1907.*

THE development of the domestic situation in Germany, and the success or failure of Prince von Bülow's experiment of governing with a Liberal-Conservative *Bloc,* hinge upon the extent to which the Government is able or willing to fulfil its programme of social and economic reforms. The essential features of this programme are still as vague as they were when the new Reichstag assembled before Easter, and its fulfilment is far too dependent on the sincerity of the Government's professions of Liberalism to be forecast even in outline.

In the mean time the resignation of Count Posadowsky, who for ten years has presided over the Imperial Home Office, has not reassured Prince von Bülow's Liberal and Radical supporters with regard to his willingness or ability to keep faith with his new majority. The ex-Secretary of State for the Interior was by far the ablest of the Imperial Chancellor's coadjutors in the government of the Empire. His unrivalled grasp of the multitudinous affairs of his department and his assiduity, combined with an infinite capacity for taking pains, made him the ideal type of the official which the Prussian bureaucratic system was intended to produce. Conscientious and invariably self-informed, he was a minor Providence to the nation, and in Parliament a tower of strength to the Government. By birth a nobleman and a member of the landed and propertied classes, he nevertheless managed during his forty years of continuous public service to keep abreast, and sometimes ahead, of modern requirements and ideas. If the tinge of paternalism which characterized the majority of his social proposals betrayed the training and traditions of their author, they were redeemed and inspired by a

fine and sympathetic spirit of intelligent Liberalism which was universally recognized. Even the uncompromising opposition of the Social Democracy was partially relaxed in Count Posadowsky's favor. But he was no courtier or carpet knight, like Prince von Bülow, and his undivided attention to the details of his department, which he controlled in all its branches, won for him in the highest quarters the unenviable reputation of a pedant. In addition to his commanding intellect, which made the Chancellor's more superficial arts and crafts seem small by comparison, Count Posadowsky labored under the disability of differing from his official chief on questions of political and Parliamentary tactics. The latest occasion upon which this divergence manifested itself was at the dissolution of the Reichstag last December, which Count Posadowsky regarded as an act of temerity. Perhaps he realized too keenly the artificial character of the theatrical campaign against the Centre party, and he may have apprehended the truth that, in reality, the Chancellor had staked his political existence in order to defeat a powerful Court clique, which had set itself to undermine his position in the Emperor William's favor. If all that has been said and written about this so-called camarilla during the last few months is only approximately true, the history of its intrigues forms one of the most instructive documents in modern German politics. In countries where the process of government is conducted in public, machinations of this kind would be impossible, even on the part of competent and experienced politicians. But the camarilla has been exposed, and in the event Prince von Bülow was so far successful that, although he completely failed to weaken the Parliamentary Centre party, against which the dissolution was ostensibly directed, he inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Social Democrats by a questionable appeal to "national" sentiment.

But the Imperial Chancellor's triumph entailed a number of obligations, the fulfilment of which demanded the whole-hearted cooperation of the Government, and in particular of the Imperial Secretary of State for the Interior. Count Posadowsky, however, remained sceptical as to the ultimate success of Prince von Bülow's experiment, and his attitude even in Parliament implied a doubt as to whether it would be possible to "mate the Liberal with the Conservative spirit" without detriment to the development of social policy. So long as the Conservative and

Agrarian element remains preponderant in Prussia, scepticism as to the possibility of developing social and economic policy on Radical or even Liberal lines in the Empire is justified. Prince von Bülow has tried to bridge over the difficulty by investing the new Imperial Secretary of State for the Interior with the functions of Vice-President of the Prussian Council of Ministers. But the difficulty remains, and is still further intensified by the fact that, whereas in the Empire and in the Reichstag Prince von Bülow, as Imperial Chancellor, is trying to govern against the Centre party, in Prussia and in the Diet the same statesman, as Prussian Minister-President, has to rely upon the Centre in order to conduct his policy in its most important branches. The situation is Gilbertian and untenable. As Count Posadowsky was unable to lend the experiment his whole-hearted support, he was compelled to resign. Through Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, the promoted Prussian Minister of the Interior, and by the prospective creation of a new Imperial Labor Office, Prince von Bülow is hoping that he has found the solution of this complicated problem. In order to compensate the Liberals for the dismissal of Count Posadowsky, the Imperial Chancellor has also sacrificed Dr. von Studt, the Prussian Minister of Education, who has long been the *bête noire* of intelligent Liberalism in Germany. But an equally acceptable successor in the eyes of the orthodox Conservatives has been discovered for the post.

A by no means negligible advantage which accrues to the Imperial Chancellor from the delegation of a large number of his duties, both in the Empire and in Prussia, to the new Imperial Secretary of State for the Interior, is to be found in the fact that this arrangement allows Prince von Bülow to devote himself more exclusively to foreign affairs. Foreign policy is the Chancellor's peculiar domain, and he has never, not even when his physical and intellectual energies were unimpaired, exhibited any marked aptitude for assimilating the great principles of social and political economy of which Count Posadowsky was so preeminently master. The task with which Prince von Bülow is confronted is no mean one, and it will require all his diplomatic talents to overcome the difficulties of the situation to the satisfaction of his critics in Germany.

The belief that Germany is a "sated" Power may have been true of the quarter of a century which immediately succeeded

the war with France. But since that period forces have arisen which have gradually tended to shake this belief. During the last decade Germany has been impelled into activity, partly by the force of her own industrial and commercial evolution and partly by the force of international factors. The first has imposed upon her obligations and responsibilities far beyond her boundaries in Europe. The second, on the other hand, has been called into being by the political deductions which she has attempted to draw, not only in Europe, from her victories in the wars against Denmark, Austria and France, but also in *Weltpolitik*, as the result of her commercial expansion. That Germany has kept the peace for more than a generation redounds to her credit, in so far as the maintenance of peace has depended upon her discretion. On the other hand, the direction which has been given to German policy and the attributes, material and moral, with which it has been invested by the Emperor William and his Government have suggested inferences which Powers jealous of their own standing could not possibly ignore. Just as the Franco-Prussian alliance was intended to redress the Continental balance of power after the consolidation of Germany, so the Anglo-French *entente cordiale* and its ancillary agreements have been designed to restore the equilibrium of Europe, after the defeat of Russia in East Asia, and the consequent reassertion of the preponderance of the Triple Alliance. While this readjustment assures the continuance of normal conditions, it also acts as a salutary curb upon any aspirations which Germany may be tempted to entertain. There is abundant evidence that Germany is chafing under this restraint. Prince von Bülow is inordinately fond of repeating that "pressure is bound to create counter-pressure," and at the same time the assurance is reiterated that Germany has no ambitions outside the commercial sphere. It would be interesting to know why, if she cherishes no aspirations which are incompatible with the interests of the Western European Powers, the Anglo-Franco-Spanish exchange of guarantees is wantonly interpreted as a menace to her position. The attempt to undermine the Anglo-French *entente* by raising the so-called Morocco "question" proved a failure. The reception which has been accorded in authoritative quarters in Germany to the new agreements between England, France and Spain shows that German statesmen are beginning to realize the

futility of trying to break up the understanding between these Mediterranean Powers. If Great Britain is to be displaced from her position athwart the path of German ambitions, the attack will have to be delivered in another quarter. There are an increasing number of indications that German policy is casting about for some means of counterbalancing what the German reptile press habitually calls the "anti-German Trust." Exactly half a century ago the late Prince Bismarck described Prussian foreign policy in his day as "a passive aimlessness (or an aimless passivity), which was only too glad to be left alone." To-day, after the lapse of fifty years, there is much the same kind of passivity, but there are signs that definite aims are shaping themselves. For the present, *l'Allemagne se recueille.* The question is how long the domestic situation will permit or compel the Government to remain inactive, and how long German prestige can afford to abide natural and spontaneous developments.

Germany, it is frequently repeated, is strong enough to stand by herself. To all practical intents and purposes this boast is justified. But, at the same time, the growth of potent factors in world-politics, like America and Japan, and, above all, the comprehensive network of *ententes* which a far-seeing British policy has created, have robbed "isolation" of much of the splendor which formerly attached to this condition. The value of a purely Continental insurance policy like the Triple Alliance, moreover, tends to depreciate in proportion as German interests expand beyond Europe. From the moral point of view, again, the disadvantage of being identified with purely reactionary forces, like the Tsar, the Sultan and the Pope, has long been keenly felt in Germany. The prospect of a *rapprochement* between England and Russia, combined with the latter's defeat by Japan, the repeated shocks which Mohammedan confidence in Germany has sustained, and the estrangement of German Catholicism in the Empire itself have considerably weakened Germany's second line of defence in Europe.

If the necessity for a change of policy, as a result of the growth of oversea "interests" and the decline of traditional alliances and friendships be conceded, the field within which this change can be effected is restricted. After the unfortunate experiences of recent years, it is extremely improbable that, whichever party may be in power, Great Britain should again allow herself to hew

wood and draw water in the service of German *Weltpolitik*. France again, quite apart from her sympathetic understanding with England, cannot be counted upon to stultify herself so far as to enter into intimate relations with Germany upon the mere strength of assurances which have repeatedly been dishonored in the past. Progress in this direction, if it is to be permanent, must necessarily be slow. There may be financial cooperation between the two Powers, and disputed questions outside Europe may ultimately lead to a Franco-German colonial understanding; but for the immediate future no closer relationship can be contemplated. In view of these considerations, there are not a few people in Germany to whom an understanding either with America or with Japan has presented itself as an alternative. The realization of this object, however, admittedly postulates that England and France should be kept in check, and that their suspicions should be lulled until the end in view has been attained.

So far, there is no good reason for believing that Germany has yet made up her mind in either of these directions. Indeed, the choice is no easy one, and the difficulty is still further enhanced by the belief, which is steadily gaining ground in Germany, that a conflict between America and Japan is sooner or later inevitable. An extraordinary interest is being displayed in the various phases of the diplomatic exchanges which have recently characterized the relations between the two Pacific Powers. Every effort is being made to conceal this interest and to neutralize, as far as possible, the effect of a compliment to one of the parties by a tribute in honor of the other. Even the semi-official press has been instructed to deny a suggestion, which has never been advanced in any responsible quarter, to the effect that Germany has in no way fomented the differences which have arisen between the two Powers. Symptoms of this kind sufficiently indicate a sensitive interest which the outside world may be excused for interpreting upon the one hypothesis. Delicate as the discussion of the subject may be, it is perhaps noteworthy that a good deal of attention has been attracted in Germany by a statement that America has declined an alleged offer of good offices on the part of France in the present state of friction between the United States and Japan. Whether Germany cherishes aspirations of her own, in welcoming the elimination of France as a rival for the good graces of America, it is too early to say. But

England still remains to be dealt with. In the case of England, however, there is, from the German point of view, the added difficulty that she is at present on equally good terms with Japan as with America. And Japan, as it is reluctantly acknowledged, is quite capable of becoming useful to Germany, especially if the latter proposes to develop her interests in East Asia. Those who witnessed the reception at Kiel, a few weeks ago, of a Japanese squadron and the attentions which have been showered upon Admiral Baron Yamamoto and other distinguished Japanese visitors, will have reflected that times have changed since the Emperor William issued his pictorial appeal to the nations to guard their holiest possessions against the "Yellow Peril." The question of, it may be, the near future will be whether Germany proposes to await the issue of a conflict which is widely predicted in the German press as inevitable, in order that she may make her terms with the victor, or whether at the critical moment she will openly range herself on the side of America. The completion of the Panama Canal may find the German navy in a sufficiently advanced stage of development to permit of a conclusion.

The efforts which have recently been made to infuse a measure of cordiality into Anglo-German relations, and upon which the Emperor William's forthcoming visit to England is designed to set a seal, are eminently characteristic of the new development in German policy. If Germany is to succeed in her attempt to place England in a position in which the latter might eventually be compelled to choose between America and Japan, it is necessary to gain time. There is, too, the further consideration that the semblance of good relations with England would materially facilitate German efforts to gain the friendship of America. Until Germany's object is attained, she is quite capable of playing off one against the other. England has already, at a previous period, served as the pivot of manœuvres of this kind, in the days when Germany was more intent upon inveigling herself into the favor of Russia than she is at present. The experiment may be repeated with America as the objective. The temporary advantages which America stands to gain from a working *entente* with Germany might prove to be considerable. If America, for example, were to find herself irresistibly drawn into a struggle for supremacy in the Pacific, the presence of a capable watch-dog in Europe might free her from certain conceivable anxieties.

It is difficult to say how far Germany is seriously dallying with this idea, but both in this country and in America there are classes to whom the prospect is not distasteful. Foreign visitors to Germany, especially if they enjoy a measure of distinction at home and are reasonably unacquainted with the language, are tempted into undertaking singular excursions into the domain of politics, and the echo of their voices pursues them back to their native land in an unrecognizable form. The Germans celebrate, and frequently deserve, cheap triumphs in this direction. Unfortunately, however, the hospitality which is bestowed upon the visitors is largely of that prearranged variety which precludes fair judgment. The newcomers are duly impressed with the stucco-fronted modernity of German development, with the model solicitude of the State for its citizens from the cradle to the grave, and with the progressive notions which are cheapest in the quarters where they are most inveterately ignored. The underlying principle of this artificial structure is apt to escape attention. The essential character of the German State will not be changed either by reason of the patronage of science and of approved branches of art, or as a result of the advancement of learning and of the encouragement of social policy. Neither will practical proposals at the Hague Conference, to compensate for the decided opposition to disarmament in any form, nor plausible attempts to improve German relations with England and France, avail to change the fundamental principles for which Germany stands to-day. Those who have carefully studied the development of modern Germany and who have traced German policy to its springs, are not satisfied that intimate relations with the German Empire are compatible with the interests of any essentially democratic community.

WASHINGTON, *July, 1907.*

ALTHOUGH, at the hour when we write, neither President Roosevelt nor a single member of his Cabinet remains in the Federal capital, it is safe to say that there are more veteran and expert politicians left in Washington than could be found in a dozen of the United States. Dozens of ex-Representatives, ex-Governors, nay, ex-Senators and ex-diplomatists are scattered through the Departments, so that, even in midsummer, there is no lack of keen observers and shrewd commentators. They have

plenty of leisure, too, for retrospect and forecast, since the driving wheels of the Executive machinery are no longer running under a full head of steam. What are the topics that just now command the attention of these salaried onlookers, who, perhaps, see more of the political and international game than they did when they took a hand in it? The topics of most interest are three: first, the extent to which the relations of the United States and Japan are likely to be affected by the signs of grave trouble for the last-named Power in Corea; secondly, the prospect of securing acceptance of any of the proposals made by the United States at The Hague Conference; and, lastly, the question whether there is the faintest ray of hope of Democratic success in the next Presidential election.

As for the attempt of German, French, and some American newspapers to excite apprehension that a war may be the outcome of the treatment of Japanese sojourners in San Francisco, it may now be said to have miscarried. Even the reported intention of our Navy Department to send, some months hence, all of our first-class battle-ships to San Francisco has failed to provoke any official protest on the part of the Tokio Government, although one of our best friends among the "Elder Statesmen," the Marquis Ito, now Resident-General at Seoul, has suggested that the demonstration of our sea-power in the Pacific might be looked upon as ill timed and as tending to arouse unfounded expectations on the part of the disaffected Coreans. It is obvious, indeed, that Corea is the vulnerable point of the Mikado's Empire. Nor can it be denied that the Corean Emperor was guilty of a personal breach of faith and of a flagrant violation of treaty obligations, when he authorized a delegation to proceed to The Hague and there request the recognition by the Peace Conference of Corea as an independent Power. The request was rejected, because the representatives of Japan had no difficulty in showing that, so far as international relations were concerned, the Corean sovereign had renounced the status of independence, and could no more lay claim to it than could the Queen of Madagascar after she had formally assented to her deposition at the hands of France. It is true that, by a protocol signed at Tokio on April 25th, 1898, the Governments of Japan and Russia severally recognized the sovereignty and entire independence of Corea, and reciprocally engaged to refrain from any direct interference in the

internal affairs of that country. If that protocol were still binding, the demand of the delegates of Corea for admission to The Hague Conference could not have been refused. It was superseded, however, by the agreement between Japan and Corea, signed on August 22nd, 1904 (about six months after the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War), which provided that the Seoul Government should employ as diplomatic adviser to the Department of Foreign Affairs a foreigner recommended by the Japanese Government, with the understanding that no important matters concerning foreign relations should be dealt with except after his counsel had been taken. The agreement also provided that the Seoul Government should consult the Mikado's Ministers before concluding treaties and conventions with foreign Powers. Finally, on November 17th, 1905 (about three months after the conclusion of the Peace of Portsmouth), the Seoul and Tokio Governments entered into an agreement that thereafter the Japanese Department of Foreign Affairs should have control and direction of the external relations and affairs of Corea, and the diplomatic and consular representatives of Japan should have charge of the subjects of interest to Corea in foreign countries. By another article of the same agreement, the Corean Government formally pledged itself not to conclude thereafter any act or engagement having an international character, except through the medium of the Government of Japan. In view of the documents here reproduced in substance, it is clear that the Corean Emperor had no right to despatch a delegation to The Hague Conference, and it is not surprising that, having been convicted of perjury, he should now be called upon by the head of his own Ministry, backed, of course, by Resident-General Ito, to abdicate in favor of the Crown Prince, who, it is known, would be a puppet in Japanese hands.

While, however, the Japanese have a treaty right to object to the despatch of a Corean delegation to The Hague, there is reason to believe that, if the Corean sovereign should be visited with the penalty of deposition, and of deportation to Tokio, not all but many of the inhabitants of Corea would be wrought to an exasperation that would find vent on the first favorable occasion. Now, in the Corean Empire, there are said to be no fewer than twenty million inhabitants, while, as yet, only about 50,000 Japanese are even alleged to have settled in the peninsula. Un-

der the circumstances, it is obvious that if the Japanese, being beaten at sea, should find their communications with Corea interrupted, they would find it impossible to retain a foothold in the peninsula for any extended period. They cannot, therefore, afford to confront the risk of a contest with all the first-class battleships of the United States, for they would have incomparably more at stake than would their opponents. The continued possession of Corea is of vital moment to Japan, whereas we could lose all our insular possessions in the Pacific without suffering any pecuniary detriment. Indeed, it would be money in our pockets to let the whole of them go, though, of course, our national dignity would not permit us to let them be wrested from us by force.

Although we have sent to The Hague a delegation of exceptional prestige and influence, headed as it is by ex-Ambassador Choate and ex-Ambassador Porter, the situation seems unfavorable to the accomplishment of any of our principal aims. We desired, first, to establish the principle of the inviolability of the private property of the subjects or citizens of a belligerent at sea; secondly, to forbid the collection by force of contractual debts, until the claims should have been adjudged valid by The Hague permanent Court of Arbitration, and until the debtor-State should have refused to comply with the decision of that tribunal. In the third place, we wished to extend materially the scope of The Hague Court of Arbitration; and, finally, we were prepared to second England's request for a substantial reduction of military armaments. The inviolability of the private property of a belligerent at sea, which we urged upon European Powers at the time of the Declaration of Paris (1856), was earnestly advocated at The Hague by Mr. Choate, who succeeded in rallying to its support almost two-thirds of the delegates belonging to the appropriate committee, who, moreover, represented a population exceeding by scores of millions that of the countries arrayed in opposition to his proposal. The ostensible success, however, can have no practical result, since the countries that he failed to convince will continue to repudiate the desired principle, and among these are such great maritime Powers as Great Britain, France, Japan and Russia.

As for our effort to enlarge the powers of The Hague permanent Court of Arbitration, much will, of course, be effected

in that direction if we can persuade the Conference to prohibit such a collection by force of contractual debts as was practised by Great Britain in the case of Egypt, and by Great Britain, Germany and Italy in the case of Venezuela—until, that is to say, the validity of a creditor's claim shall have been certified by impartial arbitrators. There is, as yet, grave doubt whether the principal creditor-Powers will tolerate the introduction of such a change in the law of nations, a change which is viewed askance even by some solvent Latin-American republics, like Brazil and Mexico, who are accustomed to pay their debts punctually, and are loath to see their present excellent credit on the European stock-exchanges impaired in the slightest degree, as it might be, if the validity of a claim had to be left to the adjudication of The Hague tribunal.

With regard to the prospect of Democratic success at the next Presidential election, most of the astute observers in Washington think that if the Democratic National Convention were held this autumn Mr. William J. Bryan would be made the nominee by more than a two-thirds vote; not that the delegates would have any hope of electing him, but because, as yet, he has no active and popular competitor. We have learned, indeed, whom Colonel Watterson, of the Louisville "Courier-Journal," had in mind when he said that he could name a Democrat living west of the Alleghanies and north of the Ohio to whom the Bryanites could have no objection, and yet who would have a fair chance of securing a majority of the electoral votes. He referred to John A. Johnson, now for a second term Democratic Governor of Minnesota. It is a remarkable fact that in 1904, although Mr. Roosevelt carried Minnesota by 161,464, Mr. Johnson, as the Democratic candidate for Governor, secured a plurality of 6,352. That Governor Johnson gave satisfaction to his fellow citizens is evident from the fact that, last year, he was reëlected by a plurality of 76,633. Being of Scandinavian parentage, he would naturally have a strong pull on all the Scandinavian population of the Northwest, which is by no means concentrated in the single State of Minnesota. This, at least, may be urged on behalf of Governor Johnson, that he is far more likely than Mr. W. J. Bryan to carry his own State. As yet, however, the former's reputation is purely local, and there is scarcely time enough left before June, 1908, in which to make him a national figure.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

MONDAY, *July 29.* The Esperanto Congress.

SEVEN centuries ago Roger Bacon, monk and philosopher, startled the conservative citizens of Oxford by announcing strange facts in the sciences of chemistry and physics, and by making wild prophecies of wonderful engines, horseless carriages and the like. For a Franciscan monk this was worse than madness, and by consequence Bacon suffered much ignominy and years of imprisonment. To-day the denizens of Mongolia and remote Siberia, as they catch sight of the motors now racing "from Peking to Paris," are probably just as incredulous as were the Oxford men seven hundred years ago, and only a fuller experience could convince them that the horseless carriage is a fact.

In the same manner for centuries past there has been talk, more or less vague, concerning a world-language, a universal tongue, that all nations could learn, and thus commune with facility like men and brothers. As in every other field of invention and discovery various attempts have been made to construct such a language—attempts that the years have swept away with the flotsam and jetsam of mortal endeavor. But one of these attempts, Esperanto, has not only survived, but by its substantial merit and vitality it has gained the faith and adherence of an ever-increasing multitude in every part of the globe, and to-day hundreds of men and women from every quarter are gathering at Cambridge, England, to be present at the Third International Esperanto Congress.

The English are avowedly the most conservative of peoples. They are not given to believing on mere hearsay. But had Roger Bacon brought a horseless carriage before them and demonstrated its utility they would have honored him duly. And likewise the Congress that is to open at Cambridge on the 12th of this

month may bring home to them what Professor Ostwald, of Leipzig, in a recent address called the "culture value of an auxiliary language." In Professor Ostwald's opinion the adoption and general use of an auxiliary tongue among the nations, for purposes commercial and scientific, is one of the most important of all "culture" problems for humanity at the present and in the immediate future.

Culture, according to Ostwald, simply means economy of energy. A scientist at present can, in a few days, make discoveries and establish facts that some decades ago would have required years of toil, only because to-day he has instruments and devices that the scientist of an earlier date would have been compelled laboriously to construct for himself. Further progress depends upon avoiding waste of energy. The value of an international auxiliary tongue lies in the fact that the effort and time devoted to the study of foreign tongues for scientific and commercial purposes can be devoted to the solution of other problems that humanity has still to contend with. For the educative value of foreign language study in the schools to any but those linguistically gifted is of doubtful significance. So irregular and difficult are the historical languages that the inherent logic of the child naturally rebels against them. The general adoption of Esperanto would do away with these difficulties. And now the English people will have the opportunity to see the practical working of Esperanto.

Hundreds of Esperantists representing every civilized nation on earth will listen to speeches, make speeches, hold meetings, enact plays, all in Esperanto. They will meet at divine service, at meals, picnics, games, on excursions, using only Esperanto, to which very few of them probably have devoted over three months of actual study. Already England has gone far to recognize the merit and value of Esperanto, which has recently been adopted by the London Chamber of Commerce. The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University and the Mayor and Town Council will give an official reception to the delegates, and the Corporation of the City of London has offered to the Congress the use of the Guild Hall for a meeting on August 19th. The press of England and America, it is to be hoped, will present some interesting accounts of the Congress. Mr. Henry James Forman will represent THE REVIEW.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

Edmund Clarence Stedman,

veteran poet and critic, whose name is held in honor by lovers of literature the world over, graduated from Yale in 1853. Since then he has almost uninterruptedly devoted his life to letters. Having edited the "Norwich Tribune" and the "Winsted Herald" in his native State, Connecticut, he joined the staff of the "New York Tribune" in 1859, and after serving two years on that paper he became the war correspondent of the "World." He delivered the initiatory course of lectures of the Turnbull Chair of Poetry in Johns Hopkins University, and this course he repeated later at Columbia University and the University of Pennsylvania. He succeeded Mr. Lowell as president of the American Copyright League in 1891, and in 1904-5 he was president of the National Institute of Arts and Letters. His writings are voluminous, including a large number of volumes of poems, and such well-known critical works as "The Victorian Poets" and "Poets of America." He edited, with T. B. Aldrich, "Cameos from the Poems of Walter Savage Landor"; with Ellen M. Hutchinson, "A Library of American Literature"; and with G. E. Woodberry, "The Works of Edgar Allan Poe." Mr. Stedman was a member of the New York Stock Exchange from 1869 to 1900.

Hannis Taylor,

who is recognized throughout the world as one of the most eminent living authorities on constitutional history and constitutional law, was born in New Berne, North Carolina, in 1851. Having graduated at the University of his native State, he was admitted to the bar, and achieved great distinction in the practice of his profession. He was appointed Minister to Spain by President Cleveland in 1893. The

wide literary fame gained for Mr. Taylor by his great work on "The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution" was materially enhanced by his treatise on "International Public Law," which has been declared by a high authority to be "the most exhaustive work of its kind issued in this country since Dana's Wheaton." In recognition of the service which he had rendered to literature and learning by the publication of these works, the Universities of Dublin and Edinburgh simultaneously conferred upon Mr. Taylor the honorary degree of LL.D. He recently published a third treatise, of a like scholarly and comprehensive character, on the "Jurisdiction and Procedure of the United States Supreme Court," upon which the Justices of that court have put the imprimatur of their high approval and commendation. Mr. Taylor represented the United States before the Alaskan Boundary Commission.

Seumas Mac Manus

was born in Donegal, Ireland. While performing the duties of his chosen profession as a teacher he wrote verse and prose which found favor with the editors of a variety of journals. He has twice visited America. Among his publications are "Through the Turf Smoke," "The Bewitched Fiddle," "For Chimney Corners," "Donegal Fairy Stories" and "A Lad of the O'Friels."

A. Maurice Low,

a native of London, England, was educated at King's College, London, and in Austria. He has made a special study of foreign politics, and has contributed a great number of articles on that and other subjects to American and English periodicals. Mr. Low is correspondent in Washington for the Boston "Globe" and the London "Morning Post."

William Trickett,

Dean of the Dickinson School of Law, was born in England in 1840. He was educated at the Philadelphia Central High School and Dickinson College, and was graduated from the latter institution in 1868. Having completed a course in law, he was admitted to the bar in 1876. In 1898 he was Democratic candidate for the Superior Court of Pennsylvania. He is a member of the American Bar Association, the Pennsylvania Bar Association, and the

American Academy of Political and Social Science. He is the author of a number of works on legal subjects, including "The Law of Landlord and Tenant," "The Law of Liens in Pennsylvania" and "The Law of Assignments in Pennsylvania."

ABRAM S. ISAACS

is a native of New York. He graduated at the New York University in 1871 and at the University of Breslau in 1878. In 1885, he joined the teaching staff of the New York University as Professor of Hebrew, and later assumed, also, the duties of Professor of German. These chairs he occupied till 1895, when he became Professor of German Literature in the Post-graduate Department of the University. Professor Isaacs is rabbi of the Barnert Memorial Temple in Paterson, New Jersey. From 1878 to 1903 he was editor of "The Jewish Messenger," and he is the author of a work entitled "Stories from the Rabbis."

SAMUEL PARSONS,

landscape architect, was born in New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1844, and he was educated at a preparatory school at Flushing, New York, Haverford College, Pennsylvania, and Yale Scientific School, where he was graduated in 1862. He studied landscape-gardening under Calvert Vaux in New York City, and was a partner of Mr. Vaux during 1879-82. During that period he served as superintendent of tree-planting in the New York Park Department, and for the following fifteen years he was superintendent of all the parks in New York City and the Bronx. Since 1901 he has been landscape architect of Greater New York, with power of veto in the Board of Commissioners of Parks, and authority as adviser to the Mayor as one of the New York Improvement Commission. He is the author of a work entitled "Landscape Gardening," and many articles contributed to magazines. He is a member of the Society for Preservation of Historic and Scenic Places, and of the American Society of Landscape Architects, of which he was the founder and is now vice-president.

WILLIAM RUDOLF O'DONOVAN

is a Virginian by birth, and served in the Confederate army. Self-taught in art, he established a studio in New York

after the war. He has been an Associate of the National Academy since 1878, and he is a member of the Association of American Artists, the Architectural League, and the Association of American Sculptors. He has executed many important portrait busts, bas-reliefs and statues, including a statue of Washington for Caracas, Venezuela, and equestrian statues of Lincoln and Grant for the Soldiers and Sailors Arch in Prospect Park, Brooklyn.

Charlotte Osgood Mason

was born near Princeton, New Jersey, and passed her early life in the atmosphere of the famous university at that place. In 1886 she married the late Dr. R. Osgood Mason, of New York, a pioneer in this country in the use of suggestive therapeutics. In addition to her sympathy with her husband's work, Mrs. Mason's special interest has been in the study and application of philosophical and psychological principles, as demonstrated in the growth of character both individual and racial.

Clayton Hamilton

is a graduate of Columbia University. From 1901 to 1904 he was tutor in English at that institution, giving a course also at Barnard College. Since 1904 he has lectured extensively on literary topics, and has contributed essays, sketches and stories to the magazines. He was mainly responsible for the English version of Jacob Gordin's Yiddish play, "The Kreutzer Sonata," which Blanche Walsh produced under the management of Wagenhals and Kemper; and before that, in collaboration with Miss Grace Isabel Colbron, he produced a play, "The Love that Blinds," which Mary Shaw acted under the management of the Shuberts.

Carolyn Shipman

(Mrs. Whipple) holds degrees from Smith and Radcliffe Colleges. She taught English for five years, was on the staff of "The Critic" for seven years, and succeeded Paul Leicester Ford as editor of "The Bibliographer." She has recently translated and revised Le-Roux de Lincy's "*Recherches sur Jean Grolier*" for publication by the Grolier Club. She is engaged in literary and bibliographical work in New York.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

DCXXI.

AUGUST 16, 1907.

POE, COOPER AND THE HALL OF FAME.

BY EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN (ONE OF THE HUNDRED ELECTORS).

THE picturesque village of Cooperstown has devoted a week's round in this last month of summer to the centennial celebration of its settlement at the foot of Otsego Lake. Its citizens look upon the name and fame of James Fenimore Cooper as the chief glory of the place where one whom they pronounce "the greatest of American writers of romance" lived, worked and died. At his grave the village children sang and scattered flowers, while not inconceivably the shades of Uncas and Natty Bumppo hovered near, and the heroic ghost of Long Tom Coffin ventured thus far inland to share in the rites. The eloquence of Professor Matthews panegyrized the novelist of his adopted State—and this is well, for our champion of the spelling cohort has been one of the doughtiest defenders, since Cooper, of American letters against foreign misconception. Cooper plainly is not without honor in the glades of his own legendary. But no tablet bearing the name of the author of "The Pilot" and "The Pioneers" has been unveiled in the pavilions of our metropolitan Hall of Fame.

The capital of Virginia has raised ten thousand dollars for a

Copyright, 1907, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All Rights Reserved.

memorial of Edgar Allan Poe, whose boyhood was passed in Richmond. Last spring, Baltimore awoke to the belief that there can be no fitter addition to the structures from which she derives her titular epithet than an impressive monument, of some kind, to the poet and romancer whom Tennyson considered "the literary glory of America." It was in Baltimore that Poe won his first start; there, too, he met his last mischance, and lay distraught upon his deathbed; there his remains are guarded by the modest tomb erected, through the efforts of a woman, almost three decades after their interment; and in the same city still dwell the clansmen of his name. Baltimoreans applaud the project for an adequate memorial, and doubtless the subscription will soon be under way. As yet, however, the votes cast for Edgar Allan Poe by the electors of the Hall of Fame have fallen slightly short of the number required for inclusion within its colonnade.

Public opinion concerning our temple on the Heights has gone through several stages. The announcement of the conception of such a shrine, and of the fact that means had been supplied by private munificence for its realization under the auspices of New York's junior University, was received with some urbane yet not unkindly lifting of the eyebrows at the conscious or unconscious audacity of the undertaking. Could it seem otherwise than supereminently Hesperian to our kin across sea whose Westminster Abbey came not as a birth, but "just growed"? Could any awe invest a Pantheon established neither by a National Assembly nor by that divine right of royalty which created off-hand the Walhalla of the Danube?

The genesis of the institution doubtless was more unabashed, and also less seriously scrutinized, than if its sponsor had been one of the older seaboard universities. To cut in is after all a way of doing things, and the world has few barriers to assurance *plus* energy. Both traits were displayed by the management of the college whose resources were scanty, yet equal to obtaining the grandest of sites for future expansion, and to making itself at once conspicuous by so notable a memorial. It soon was apparent that to the plain people there was something effective in the plan set forth. Those who had received their schooling since the adoption of statutes requiring the national flag to be unfurled above every schoolhouse, and who knew by heart "My Country,

'tis of Thee," showed an interest which tempered the cynicism of an exclusive class. The resulting tolerance extended by our arbiters of taste was confirmed, with American gallantry, from the moment when the rumor went about that to the patriotic impulse of a young countrywoman, whom all held in affectionate honor, the coming shrine would owe its endowment.

Next came an interval of curiosity as to the working of the scheme. Would it be as wisely guided as it had been cleverly adventured? Could it maintain the dignity of its attributes, or would it be a thing for passers to wag their heads at, and say: "Aha, aha! our eye hath seen it." Manifestly, however, Chancellor MacCracken in any case would be able to render his antiphonal: "Aha! even the ancient high places are ours in possession." When the columned hemicycle began to show around Stanford White's beautiful edifice, on that lofty site, the Chancellor's vantage-ground was indisputable; and when, ere long, the result of the balloting, in 1900, for a possible fifty famous Americans became known, it was admitted that the test of an initial election had come out fairly well. The country at large had made nominations and was discussing the returns; it had been taken with the idea of such a foundation in the city which every American visits, and in which, as in Washington, he seems to have a certain share. In fine, this first election, conducted with much circumstance and precision, advanced the enterprise to the status of achievement: not necessarily a Pantheon such as well might have been founded at the national capital, but at least the peer in location and pretensions of Munich's Ruhmeshalle—from which it appears to take its name.

This virtual acceptance of the Hall as a public institution brought with it the right of citizen censorship which has been exercised *Amerikanisch*, with all degrees of seriousness and humor. The election of only twenty-nine from the nominated list showed that even the greatest of democracies has not yet produced fifty heroes beyond all cavil—stars of such magnitude that no differences of faith, opinion, temperament, among the electors, could prevent a common recognition of their light. On the whole, twenty-nine was a goodly number to begin with, and there might have been worse happenings than the reservation of twenty-one vacancies for the arbitrament of after time and discussion. The election of Lee by a two-thirds vote proved the catholicity of the

judges. The debarment of Hamilton by his alien birth was keenly felt; probably I was but one of the electors who expressed regret, when rendering their ballots, over his ineligibility.

Nevertheless, the failure to elect two or three of the nominees seemed, upon consideration of the relative rank of several among the chosen, a palpable sin of omission. It was to me a cause for bewilderment. I had committed the error of supposing that my own judgment was so naturally shared by discerning men that the success of these candidacies was inevitable. And should not the electors, though one of their own number say it, be reckoned as discerning? Imbued, then, with respect for the breadth and acumen of the twenty-five "college presidents," the twenty-six "professors of history and scientists," the twenty-six "publicists, editors, and authors," and the twenty-three "chief justices," with whom I was associated,—and to whom so honorable a function had unexpectedly been entrusted,—I confess that I was quite taken aback to find that only thirty including myself had voted for Cooper, and that Poe, with presumedly the South behind him, had received but thirty-eight of the ninety-seven ballots returned. Then, too, possessed by a reverence acquired in youth for the Father of American Song, and a belief that a man's eminence should be measured by its ratio to his own era, I thought it surprising that the *nomen venerabile* of Bryant was not upon the bead-roll, although he had lacked but 2 votes of the required 51.

The case of Cooper seemed peculiarly inexplicable, and now, since the second test, in 1905, it would seem as much more so as the square of the additional years, but for conditions which it is the purpose of this article to examine in the hope of their amelioration. That Washington Irving should have received the large percentage of eighty-three out of ninety-seven votes, standing eleventh on the list, could not be criticised. But if Irving, why not his great compeer—that other romancer, who, if the less classical and refined of the two, was the more creative, the more American, and is to this day "equal in renown"? Above all, why but thirty votes for him, to Irving's eighty-three? Both were founders of a native school, and side by side the vansmen in our sixty years' march for international copyright. Were there fewer than a third of the electors uninformed concerning the world-wide vogue of Cooper, and the unceasing sale of his works; were

there so few who could recall experiences like that of the present writer, who, with a zest excited in boyhood by a chance acquaintance with but one of Cooper's novels, had trudged a league for each successive other, until the whole enchanting series had been assimilated? Had then the lapse of years made so unfamiliar to my colleagues those opening stanzas of Halleck's "Red Jacket"?—

> "Cooper, whose name is with his country's woven
> First in her files, her Pioneer of mind—
> A wanderer now in other climes, has proven
> His love for the young land he left behind;
>
> "And throned her in the senate-hall of nations,
> Robed like the deluge rainbow, heaven-wrought;
> Magnificent as his own mind's creations,
> And beautiful as its green world of thought."

Were there no more who had appreciated the survey of Cooper's life and work afforded by Professor Lounsbury's contribution to the "Men of Letters" series? Recalling to mind that biography, a classic in its way, and therewith the estimate placed by Mr. Brownell in a masterpiece of criticism upon our rugged celebrant of frontier and ocean adventure, I felt that in respect of the romancer's inalienable claims to such apotheosis as can be bestowed by official commemoration I was willing to be "in the right with two or three."

If the vote for Cooper gave cause for wonder, what of the insufficient tally scored for Poe, whose manes probably will never cease to be vexed by a witling class of followers, but concerning whose place in imaginative literature the world at large has not the slightest doubt? As a writer he was among the first to recognize the powers of Hawthorne; both were idealists, and if the one produced no sustained romances like "The Scarlet Letter," the other gave voice to no lyric melodies such as "Israfel" and "The Haunted Palace." These artistic, beauty-haunted compeers were twin orbs in their nineteenth-century constellation. And as for the matter of renown—of a place in the Hall of Fame—what, then, *is* fame? On your conscience, fellow judges, whether you are realists or dreamers, jurists, scholars or divines, pay some slight regard to that voice of the outer world, which one of our own writers termed the verdict of "a kind of contemporaneous posterity"; note that there is scarcely an enlightened

tongue into which Poe's lyrics and tales have not been rendered,—that he is read and held as a distinctive genius, in France, Spain, Germany, Italy, Russia, Scandinavia,—that the spell of his art is felt wherever our own English speech goes with the flags of its two great overlands. Fame! Is there one of us still unconscious of Poe's *fame?*

> "Not hear? When noise was everywhere! it tolled
> Increasing like a bell."

Those who have given their votes for Franklin and Hamilton surely have not demurred on ethical grounds to one against whom no charge of immorality can lie, seeing that his life, like his handiwork, was chaste as moonlight. That he was poor and headstrong is true; that he was the congenital victim of an abnormal craving for stimulants, now accounted a disease, is true; but what of all this beside the gift that made its shining way against such odds—beside one's gratitude for his crystallization of our inchoate taste and for the recognition which his poetry and romance did so much to gain for the literary product of his native land.

Thus I thought and think, and the blanks on the bulletin of 1900 would still seem inexplicable, and far more so their persistence after the second election—in which, though Cooper advanced to a count of forty-three, and Poe to forty-two, Bryant fell off to forty-six—were it not that I have begun to see a light. Meanwhile, public opinion concerning these shortcomings has been outspoken, and barbed with the sarcasms of a justifiably ironic press. It has been intimated, for example, that Poe and Whitman are *taboo* by senatorial edict. Plainly this cannot be so as regards Poe, for his name has twice been squarely presented on the roll of nominations, and nine more votes would have given it a majority on the second trial. In relation to Whitman it should be noted that to put a name before the electors requires, under the constitution, nominations "from the public in general —seconded by any member of the University Senate." It is true that after an election is decided a veto-power may be exercised against an elect, but only "by a majority of the nineteen members of the New York University Senate." This veto would simply "return the name for future consideration. The electors might again approve it by an emphatic vote." The fact is that

the name of Whitman was not eligible, under the ten-year limit, until the election of 1905, nor had there been any so general an advocacy of it as to constitute a definite public estimate of his fame—nor, so far as I am aware, any preliminary effort made by its most ardent votaries. Any elector had the right to add it to the list submitted for supplementary nominations, and if even a few of the Hundred had done so, I very much doubt if it would have failed to appear upon the "revised" roll containing the full and final panel.

The priority, by a generation, of Cooper and Poe, and of Bryant—whom Whitman found so satisfying—is manifest, and that any name is not submitted at the first available date hardly constitutes a grievance. As one never deaf to Whitman's large utterance, and whose early statement that he and Emerson and Poe were our poets from whom the world "had most to learn" has long been vindicated, I foresee a lustrum when he will be ushered to the Hall by the equity of time; yet I conceive that even his chartered renowners would not care to have him enter before he comes as a conqueror.

With light gained, then, from the returns of 1905, which elected Lowell and Whittier, but no historian or other author, and not a single scientist or great inventor, it is plain that the rules thus far adhered to block the way to reasonable coordination. An otherwise good system surely may be amended in such wise as to produce results more in accord with national expectation. This belief is here expressed because it may well be said that the judges themselves should not rest content with the mere transmission of their votes. For one, I should have made some unofficial effort in 1905, in behalf of certain names, but unforeseen events put it quite beyond my power. Another election will take place in 1910, but I do not assume to count upon a surer or more serviceable time than the present for lightening the concern upon my mind.

I have used the word "associates" in speaking of the hundred judges, but—and here I reach the gravamen of the complaint—we have been, after all, associated no more actively than the gargoyles of Notre Dame or the saintlier marble images of the Milan Cathedral; perhaps still less so, for it has not seemed beyond conjecture, in the fancy of our pasquinaders, that the statued sages of a Supreme Court House, or Mr. Ward's alle-

gorical impersonations within the Stock Exchange pediment, may confabulate at the mystic midnight hour. I am myself the possessor of a generous bowl which I piously believe—like Gil Blas unquestioning his children's paternity—to be of the true Imari ware, and which mayhap was often brimmed with votive blossoms before its departure from the Far East. For me and mine it serves the office of a punch-bowl, though too fragile to be lent in the fashion of Holmes's silver transmittendum from the "Mayflower," nor setting up any claim to have come hither in the "Powhatan" with the first Japanese embassy. Yet 'tis not without the dignity of years, and is treasured all the more for its spacious fragility. Now, grouped in a council ring within its inner surface—τὶ θεῶν δαίδαλμα, "some cunning work of the gods"—are the sages of Nippon, they whom we traditionally denominate the Hundred Wise Men. More than once I have essayed to count these dignitaries, but the refulgence of their shorn and shining heads is confusing, and one can only make sure that their tally falls somewhat short; certain of them must have tarried behind, like those laggard judges who withheld their ballots in the University election of 1905. It is true that after a liberal enjoyment of the service which my bowl renders upon occasion the count is enlarged, or even doubled. Between two extremes it is pleasant to regard the Wise Men as present in full quota—a legendary Hundred; and as to their wisdom, do not their reverend faces, their attire—judicial, sacerdotal or scholastic—reveal this beyond a doubt?

How often, since the inception of our Hall of Fame, I have reflected enviously upon the superior advantages for counsel enjoyed by our prototypes within the hollow of this bowl—this coracle so vastly fuller of wisdom, and more enduring, than that which sank beneath the weight of only three wise men of Gotham!

Under our electoral system a real cause for surprise is that the enshrinement of forty immortals has been already effected, and has called forth so few expressions of discontent respecting the selections actually made. Consider the limitations imposed. Once and again, a period of five years intervening, the university and college presidents, the chief justices, the professors of history and scientists, and the publishers, editors and authors have not been disobedient to the vision from the Heights. They have received the representative lists of the famous dead, and have

underscored the names of those whom they, each for himself, have thought most entitled to mural consecration. Possibly some of the justices have been able to confer, in full bench, before reaching their decisions, but as for the publishers, editors and authors, they have voted in cabinets as separate as those in which cardinals are immured for the election of a new Pope. Few of them have had the opportunity, after receiving in late springtime the official "roll of names" from the Chancellor, to compare views with their colleagues; still fewer have exchanged written communications. If some plan had been devised whereby a goodly number of us might have been in conference for a single day; if we could have bumped heads and grazed shoulders, like the Hundred Wise Men of the East; or, if the Chancellor, in the exercise of his prerogative, had acquainted the electoral body, by means of an inclusive circular No. 3, with arguments submitted to him by any judges in support of any nominees, there would have been a basis for reconsideration. If, then, a supplementary vote had been permitted in the cases of those names which had come within a half-score ballots of the needful fifty-one, it seems probable that from five to ten more names would have been added to the eleven (of all classes) successful at the more recent election.

As it was, Holmes received the large number of forty-nine votes, although it was the first occasion of his eligibility; Bryant received forty-six, and a like number was accorded to Patrick Henry, Calhoun and Andrew Jackson, respectively. Motley reached forty-seven. Among famous Americans of foreign birth, Hamilton had the votes of eighty-eight out of the ninety-five cast, and was the only one elected, although Roger Williams, of the same group, lacked but five votes of a majority. The test of a supplementary ballot might well have been applied to nominees most nearly obtaining the requisite count, and if it had been extended to the candidacies of Poe and Cooper,—which had gained new supporters since 1900,—I think they would have been "of the company" whose tablets were unveiled last Decoration Day. Nothing, of course, could be more fantastic than a choice made *peine forte et dure*. The electors are no members of a Sacred College, to be returned again and again to their boxes, nor jurymen sent back to quarters to prevent a mistrial, nor delegated for extended balloting as under the

two-thirds rule of a Democratic convention. Yet a system is defective that goes "to the other extreme," as Astor Bristed said when Bentley changed the title of "The Wits' Miscellany" to that of "Bentley's Magazine."

A single ballot is permitted at each recurring fifth year, and while, in 1905, there were twenty-six vacancies in the native American class alone, there was but the hit-or-miss chance of obtaining fifty-one votes for any name at all. The fundamental trouble is to be sought among the rules upon which the Chancellor lays most stress in his attractive and perspicuous "Official Book of the Hall of Fame"—issued, one notes, in 1901, when their practicability had received but a first trial. "There is no obligation," he says, "upon the Board of Electors in any given year to agree upon any name or number of names," and certainly none could wish there should be were it possible. When he adds, not without dignity, that "their opinions are sought once only," experience justifies the response that the opinions of the Board well might be sought and intercommunicated, and weighed in preparation for an eclectic supplementary ballot and the final closure of the polls. Last spring an Academy of the Fine Arts, voting in actual conclave for the admission of new members, egregiously failed to carry out its avowed inclinations, electing but three of many laudable candidates recommended by its council. Suppose that the seventy-one voters had been distributed throughout the country: is it likely that even those three could have passed the ordeal of an unrenewable vote by mail? As it was, a supplementary session set matters right.

It is quite as commendable a function of the public to take part in the primaries as to pass judgment on the returns. The proselyting sisterhood have shown the way, enshrining three famous and eligible women, by means of unceasing admonition to the electors. Their zeal would have triumphed only in the case of Mary Lyon, had not the University Senate so construed the rules that forty-seven votes—of the eighty-six cast by those who "actually considered the names of women"—should elect, instead of a vote of fifty-one out of ninety-five as required in all other classes. By this construction the Senate seemingly conceded that what it terms the constitution is, after all, not more sacrosanct, nor less subject to amendment, under unforeseen conditions, than, for instance, the masterpiece devised by the

Philadelphia Convention of 1787. Outside of the feminine propaganda not much direct influence was exerted, except by the special advocates of denominational worthies, counter-claimants, names hardly of the universal class. The fact that the press alone spoke up for Poe and Cooper doubtless reflected a general assumption that their fame was so secure that direct appeals in their behalf would imply distrust of the electoral intelligence. It now appears that such appeals should have been made. Personally I should have valued a license to give Poe the triple vote that Mark Twain proposed to cast for Mr. Jerome, and certain fellow writers were similarly inclined. All the same, it is not fully evident that if there had been a National Academy of Letters, to which his name could be referred, the affair would have come out much better. The literary vote for no author was larger than that awarded by some other judicial group, and was relatively smaller as given for Holmes, Parkman, Poe and Whittier. The function of such an Academy which Mr. Benson thinks its best excuse for being—namely, "to draw a line"—was freely exercised by the voting *literati* in relation to their own guild.

It is already perceptible that few observances of the Republic's most poetic holiday will be thought more expressive than the quinquennial dedication, in the Hall of Fame, of tablets to those who have bequeathed us their renown, and

> "who still rule
> Our spirits from their urns."

On the occasion of last May, thinking it perhaps my only chance to witness the ceremony, I was of the many who crossed Washington Bridge with that intent. The day's blend of air and sunshine was auspicious for the superb plateau of University Heights. I followed intelligent throngs inspecting the grounds, the college buildings, the Hall and its Museum, and I foresaw, as none can fail to do, the growth and expansion made possible by the University's transmigration. The scene, the gathering, the ceremonies of the colonnade, were unquestionably effective. I listened upon the terraced lawn to Chancellor MacCracken's justly confident address; to Governor Hughes's characterizations of Quincy Adams, Madison, Hamilton, General Sherman, Lowell, Whittier, and others whose panels were unveiled; and to the patriotic

speech of the visiting Governor of the old Bay State. One was aware that the emotions of the typical assemblage were not out of keeping; that few thought to scrutinize the authority investing a foundation so visually realized, and that in all likelihood a new generation will view it through that perspective which tends to make equal in time and honor institutions established earlier than one's remembrance.

Its appeal, then, to the aspirations of American youth is fairly well assured. But this year's unveiling, while lengthening a classified roll of famous Americans to the twoscore mark, pointedly accentuated the slight put upon two or three names as well entitled to precedence as any of the author class thus far commemorated. Inasmuch as whatever reproach this implies is divided between the electoral Board and the custodians of the endowment, I thus respectfully ask the Senate of the University to consider the need of an improved working method. In this heyday of executive supremacy the Chancellor-Chairman would be forgiven for taking a hint from the example of a reform Governor bent upon carrying out the wishes of a generous public. It is my trust that in his heart he will not disfavor this behest, that the press, as the electoral year approaches, shall not slacken, but increase rather, its admonitions, and that all loyal Americans shall do likewise; and that all manly youths shall speak up for their wholesomest and most virile old-time recounter; and that our innumerous fiction-writers shall recall their obligations to him who founded a native school, and to that romancer whose wonder tales brought the short story to its first artistic perfection; and, lastly, that all bards and bardlings, though now a secondary division of this army with banners, shall lift their voices for the lyrist "whose heart-strings are a lute," and for the austere and gray-beard minstrel who, with harp in hand, began their Parnassian procession. And that these adjurations may be humbly reënforced, I pray those of my judicial colleagues who, in 1910, retain their incumbency to underscore upon their ballot lists names too long unhonored, and in this wise further justify the confidence bestowed with their electoral charge.

EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN.

THE DESIGNER OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY HANNIS TAYLOR.

In a recent issue of the Chicago "Record-Herald," Mr. William E. Curtis, after looking over the antiquities of Hartford, presented an interesting sketch of Noah Webster, in which he said, among other things, that "his most notable lecture was entitled 'Sketches of American Policy,' and it was published later in pamphlet form. It contains the first definite proposition for a constitution of the United States, as a substitute for the Articles of Confederation, which he criticised in his lecture as imperfect and insufficient." In that hopelessly indefensible statement Mr. Curtis has embodied a too popular misunderstanding of a vital fact of American constitutional history, in regard to which there should not be the slightest doubt or obscurity. Noah Webster has no claim whatever to the honor attributed to him. It belongs to Pelatiah Webster, who was the original designer or architect of the present Constitution of the United States. He it was who first proposed in a public way the calling of the Convention in which the present Constitution was made; he it was who presented, in thirty compactly printed pages, the first outline of the plan upon which it was formed; he it was who gave to the world the path-breaking idea of a Federal Government operating directly upon the citizen and not upon the States as corporations. To him alone belongs the title of "Father of the Constitution," a title resting upon written documents accessible to every one. And yet, in the face of such evidence, his very name is known only to a handful of his fellow countrymen; no monument has ever been raised to his memory; few encyclopædias mention him at all, and such as do pass him by in a way that indicates an utter lack of comprehension of his real importance.

Noah Webster's essay, referred to by Mr. Curtis as containing "the first definite proposition for a constitution of the United States, as a substitute for the Articles of Confederation," was published at Hartford in 1785. On February 16th, 1783, Pelatiah Webster had published at Philadelphia his epoch-making tract entitled "A Dissertation on the Political Union and Constitution of the Thirteen United States of North America," in which he advocated, not only the creation of a supreme Federal Government, with a national assembly of two chambers instead of one, with power to enact laws and to enforce them on individuals as well as on States, but also the creation of permanent courts of law and equity, and a stricter organization of the executive power. Noah Webster's essay was simply a warming over, an elaboration, of the great work which the path-breaker had done nearly two years before. As a founder of the existing Constitution, Pelatiah Webster stands second to Washington alone. When the originality and the far-reaching consequences of his contributions are considered, they surpass by far those of any man who sat in the Federal Convention of 1787, a body which simply worked out the plan he had drawn. While devising that plan he was so impressed with the magnitude of his task that he exclaimed, "May almighty wisdom direct my pen in this arduous discussion!" Some years after the work of the Convention was over, he calmly contrasted the result with his plan, published four years before it met, in the following terms:

"At the time when this Dissertation was written [February 16th, 1783], the defects and insufficiency of the Old Federal Constitution were universally felt and acknowledged; it was manifest, not only that the internal police, justice, security and peace of the States could never be preserved under it, but the finances and public credit would necessarily become so embarrassed, precarious and void of support, that no public movement, which depended on the revenue, could be managed with any effectual certainty: but though the public mind was under full conviction of all these mischiefs, and was contemplating a remedy, *yet the public ideas were not at all concentrated, much less arranged into any new system or form of government, which would obviate these evils.* Under these circumstances, I offered this Dissertation to the public: how far the principles of it were adopted or rejected in the New Constitution, which was four years afterwards [September 17th, 1787] formed by the General Convention, and since ratified by the States, is obvious to every one."*

* The foregoing is a note appended by Pelatiah Webster to his plan of 1783, when it was republished at Philadelphia in 1791. See p. 228.

Pelatiah Webster perfectly understood his own case and stated it with lucid simplicity. He said: Here is the plan of a federal constitution I published four years before the Convention of 1787 met; here is the federal constitution that body made; contrast the two, and the truth "is obvious to every one." There is nothing so marvellous, so unaccountable, in our history as the failure of the American people to do justice to the man who contributed the one basic idea which made our existing Federal Constitution possible. The writer fondly hopes that his humble presentation of Pelatiah Webster's case may at least make his name a little more familiar to his fellow countrymen.

Pelatiah Webster, who was born at Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1725, died at Philadelphia in 1795. After graduating at Yale in 1746, he studied theology and preached in Greenwich, Massachusetts, in the winter of 1748-9. In 1755 he removed to Philadelphia, where he became a prosperous merchant, and in due time an ardent supporter of the patriot cause in the War of the Revolution, aiding with pen and purse. * The former was first devoted to the subject of finance. As early as October, 1776, he began to write on the currency, and in 1779 he commenced the publication at Philadelphia of a series of "Essays on Free Trade and Finance." In one of these he made the first public call for a general convention, to be armed with power to devise an adequate system of federal government. The following account of that performance is taken from the writings of Madison:

"A resort to a General Convention to remodel the Confederacy was not a new idea. It had entered at an early date into the conversations and speculations of the most reflecting and foreseeing observers of the inadequacy of the powers allowed to Congress. In a pamphlet published in May, '81, at the seat of Congs, Pelatiah Webster, an able tho' not conspicuous citizen, after discussing the fiscal system of the U. States, and suggesting among other remedial provisions, including national Bank, remarks that 'the Authority of Congs, at present, is very inadequate to the performance of their duties; and this indicates the necessity of their calling a *Continental Convention* for the express purpose of ascertaining, defining, enlarging and limiting the duties and powers of their constitution, . . . In 1785, Noah Webster whose pol. and other valuable writings had made him known to the public, in one of his publications of American policy, brought into view *the same resort* for supplying the defects Fedl System."†

* He was captured by the British and imprisoned for over four months.

† "Writings of James Madison," 1783–1787, vol. II., pp. 401–3.

Madison thus makes it plain that he considered Noah Webster's essay simply as a repetition by a second-hand thinker. It is beyond question that Pelatiah Webster, in his financial essay of 1781, made the first public call* for a convention to create an adequate system of federal government. That honor is, however, comparatively a small one. His right to immortality rests upon the fact that, in his paper published in 1783, he drew the outlines of the unique fabric created at Philadelphia in 1787, basing it, as he did, upon the epoch-making idea that a federal government should operate directly upon the citizen and not upon the States as corporations. That was Pelatiah Webster's personal contribution to the science of federal government, for which the world had been waiting for more than two thousand years. In a note prepared in 1791, heretofore quoted, he tells us that, when he drew his plan in 1783, "the public mind was under full conviction of all these mischiefs, and was contemplating a remedy, yet the public ideas were not at all concentrated, much less arranged into any new system or form of government." The outlines of the "new system" came from his brain like a bolt from the blue.

From the days of the Greek Leagues down to the making of the present Constitution of the United States, all federal governments had been constructed upon a single plan, at once clumsy and inefficient. The most perfect of the Greek Leagues was the Achaian, of which the founders really knew nothing, as we learn from that writer in the "Federalist" who tells us that, "could the interior structure and regular operation of the Achaian League be ascertained, it is probable that more light might be thrown by it on the science of federal government than by any of the like experiments with which we are acquainted."†

The only federal governments with whose internal organizations the builders of our Federal Republic were really familiar, and whose histories had any practical effect upon their work, were those which had grown up between the Low-Dutch communities at the mouth of the Rhine and the High-Dutch communities

* The fact that "Alexander Hamilton made the same suggestion *in a private letter* to James Duane, September 3, 1780," is of no importance. It was not a public act, not even a public declaration. See Gaillard Hunt's "Life of James Madison," p. 108.

† "Federalist," XVIII. Such knowledge as the framers did possess of Greek federalism seems to have been drawn chiefly from the work of the Abbé Mably, "*Observations sur l'Histoire de Grèce.*"

in the mountains of Switzerland and upon the plains of Germany.* Down to the making of our present Federal Constitution, the Confederation of Swiss Cantons, the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and the German Confederation, really represented the total advance made by the modern world in the structure of federal governments. Such advance was embodied in the idea of a federal system made up of a union of states, cities, or districts, representatives from which composed a single federal assembly whose supreme power could be brought to bear, not upon individual citizens, but upon cities or states as such. The basic principle upon which all such fabrics rested was the requisition system, under which the federal head was simply endowed with the power to make requisitions for men and money upon the states or cities composing the league for federal purposes; while the states alone, in their corporate capacity, possessed the power to execute and enforce them. The first advance made by the English colonies in America in the path of federal union ended with the making of our first federal constitution, embodied in what is known as the Articles of Confederation. Up to that point, nothing new had been achieved; the fruit of the first effort was simply a confederation on the old plan, with the federal power vested in a single assembly that could only deal through the requisition system with the states as states. As one of the financial advisers of the Continental Congress during the war, the mightiest of all the Websters clearly perceived that no system of credit could be constructed without the national power of coercive taxation. He therefore sounded the key-note when, in his famous paper of 1783, he declared:

"They [the supreme power] *must therefore of necessity be vested with a power of taxation.*† I know this is a most important and weighty truth, a dreadful engine of oppression, tyranny and injury, when ill used; yet, from *the necessity of the case*, it must be admitted. For to give a supreme authority a power of making contracts, without any power of payment—of appointing officers, civil and military, without money to pay them—a power to build ships, without any money to do it with—a power of emitting money, without any power to redeem it—or of borrowing money, without any power to make payment, etc.,—

* "Federalist," XIX., XX.

† The ancient system of requisitions, resting on the taxing power of the states, was to be superseded by a system of national taxation extending to every citizen, directly or indirectly. He thus proposed a scheme of federal taxation entirely new to the world.

such solecisms in government are so nugatory and absurd that I really think to offer further arguments on the subject would be to insult the understanding of my readers. To make all these payments dependent on the votes of thirteen popular assemblies, who will undertake to judge of the propriety of every contract and every occasion of money, and grant or withhold supplies according to their opinion, whilst at the same time the operations of the whole may be stopped by the vote of a single one of them, is absurd."

In the place of the lifeless federal system of absurdity embodied in the Articles of Confederation, Pelatiah Webster proposed to substitute a self-executing and self-sustaining national system, based on the following propositions, stated in his own language:

"The supreme authority of any state must have power enough to effect the ends of its appointment, otherwise these ends cannot be answered and effectually secured. . . . I begin with my first and great principle, viz., *That the constitution must vest powers in every department sufficient to secure and make effectual the ends of it.* The supreme authority must have the power of making war and peace—of appointing armies and navies—of appointing officers both civil and military — of making contracts — of emitting, coining and borrowing money—of regulating trade—of making treaties with foreign powers—of establishing post-offices—and in short of doing everything which the well-being of the Commonwealth may require, and which is not compatible to any particular state, all of which require money, and cannot possibly be made effectual without it. . . . *This tax can be laid by the supreme authority much more conveniently than by the particular assemblies,* and would in no case be subject to their repeals or modifications; and of course the public credit would never be dependent on, or liable to bankruptcy by, the humors of any particular assembly. . . . The delegates which are to form that august body, which are to hold and exercise the supreme authority, ought to be appointed by the states in any manner they please."

After describing the qualifications of members of Congress, he proceeds to define a part of the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States by saying "that the supreme authority should be vested with powers to terminate and finally decide controversies arising between different States." Then comes the climax:

"The supreme authority ought to have a power of peace and war, and forming treaties and alliances with all foreign powers; which implies a necessity of their also having sufficient powers *to enforce the obedience of all subjects of the United States to such treaties and*

alliances with full powers to unite the force of the States, and direct its operations in war; and to punish all transgressors in all these respects; otherwise, by the imprudence of a few, the whole Commonwealth may be embroiled with foreign powers, and the operations of the war may be rendered useless. . . . I think the soul that sins should die, *i.e.*, the censure of the great supreme power ought to be so directed, if possible, as to light on those persons who have betrayed their country, and exposed it to dissolution, by opposing and rejecting the supreme authority, which is the bond of our union, and from whence proceeds the principal strength and energy of our government. I therefore propose that every person whatever, whether in public or private character, who shall, by public vote or other overt act, disobey the supreme authority, shall be amenable to Congress, shall be summoned and compelled to appear before Congress and, on due conviction, suffer such fine, imprisonment, or other punishment, as the supreme authority shall judge requisite."

Here at last we have the great thought of which neither Thucydides nor Polybius ever dreamed—the thought of a supreme federal government acting directly upon the subject or citizen, and not upon the cities or states composing the league. About this path-breaking idea *(bahnbrechende Idee)* there does not hang the perfume either of the spelling-book or the lexicon. It is living, seed-full fruit—Pallas from the brain of Zeus. In formulating his conclusions as to the supremacy of federal law acting directly on all citizens, he said:

"1. No laws of any state whatever, which do not carry in them a force which extends to their effectual and final execution, can afford a certain or sufficient security to the subject: this is too plain to need any proof. 2. Laws or ordinances of any kind (especially of august bodies of high dignity and consequence) which fail of execution, are much worse than none; they weaken the government; expose it to contempt. A government which is but half executed, or whose operations may all be stopped by a single vote, is the most dangerous of all institutions. I take it that the very existence and use of our union effectually depends on the full energy and final effect of the laws made to support it; and therefore I sacrifice all other considerations to this energy and effect, and if our union is not worth this purchase we must give it up."

Around that fundamental concept all lesser things cluster. Such a national government as Webster planned must of necessity be strictly organized. He therefore proposed:

"That the Congress shall consist of two chambers, an upper and lower house, senate and commons, with the concurrence of both necessary to

every act; and that every state send one or more delegates to each house: this will subject every act to two discussions before two distinct chambers of men equally qualified for the debate, equally masters of the subject, and of equal authority in the decision."

After thus proposing a federal assembly on the English bicameral plan, which was adopted by the Convention, he proceeded to outline the executive and judicial departments as follows:

"These ministers will of course have the best information, and most perfect knowledge, of the state of the Nation, as far as it relates to their several departments, and will of course be able to give the best information to Congress, in what manner any bill proposed will affect the public interest in their several departments, which will nearly comprehend the whole. The Financier manages the whole subject of revenues and expenditures—the Secretary of State takes knowledge of the general policy and internal government—the Minister of War presides in the whole business of war and defence—and the Minister of Foreign Affairs regards the whole state of the nation, as it stands related to, or connected with, all foreign powers. To these I should add judges of law and chancery. I would further propose that the aforesaid great ministers of state shall compose a Council of State, to whose number Congress may add three others, viz., one from New England, one from the Middle States and one from the Southern States, one of which to be appointed President by Congress."

His pet hobby seems to have been to create a Department of Commerce in close touch with Congress.

"I therefore humbly propose, if the merchants in the several states are disposed to send delegates from their body to meet and attend the sitting of Congress, that they shall be permitted to form a chamber of commerce, and their advice to Congress be demanded and admitted concerning all bills before Congress, as far as the same may affect the trade of the states."

The recent creation of a Department of Commerce and Labor has at last effectuated that idea. Webster's plan was a complete symmetrical whole, and of it he said in conclusion:

"This vast subject lies with mighty weight on my mind, and I have bestowed on it my utmost attention, and here offer the public the best thoughts and sentiments I am master of. I shall have all the reward I wish or expect, if my dissertation shall throw any light on the great subject, shall excite an emulation of inquiry, and animate some abler genius to form a plan of greater perfection, less objectionable, and more useful."

The "abler genius" did not come; he was not needed; the original architect had outlined the general plan; modifications and improvements only were necessary. The most important subsequent suggestion came from Jefferson, who in a letter to Madison, written from Paris, December 16th, 1786, used this language:

> "To make us one nation, as to foreign concerns, and keep us distinct in domestic ones, gives the outline of the proper division of powers between the general and particular governments. But to enable the federal head to exercise the powers given to best advantage, it should be organized as the particular ones are into legislative, executive, and judiciary."*

As an assistant architect, Jefferson gave more distinctness to Webster's plan at a vital point. It thus appears that the architects of our present Federal Constitution, who never sat in the Convention of 1787, completed the plan before it met. Mighty as were the members of that body, they were only master builders who worked within the lines of a carefully prepared plan—they were not architects.

When the final analysis is made, it appears that our career as a nation has so far given birth to only three basic political ideas, which may be considered as original contributions to the Science of Politics:

(1) Constitutional Limitations on legislative power, a state creation, from which resulted the power of courts to declare legislative acts null and void. The ultimate outcome of that invention, which has no personal author, was the Supreme Court of the United States, the only court in history ever armed with the power to pass on the validity of a national law.

(2) Interstate citizenship, an invention without a personal author, which originated in the Articles of Confederation. That principle infused itself into the constitution neither of the old German Empire, nor of Switzerland, nor of Holland. From the Articles of Confederation it passed into section two of article four of the present Constitution, which provides that: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States." The consummation is embodied in the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment, which has no personal author, declaring that: "All persons

* See "Jefferson's Correspondence," by T. J. Randolph, vol. ii, pp. 64, 65.

born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside."

(3) The idea of a supreme federal government, strictly organized, and operating directly on the citizen, and not on the States composing the federation, was the invention, without doubt or cavil, of Pelatiah Webster, a native of Connecticut, an adopted son of Pennsylvania, and a graduate of the University of Yale. Has any one of those great communities ever produced in any other person so great a son? His grandeur is equalled only by the neglect of his fellow countrymen. In McCulloch *vs.* Maryland, Chief Justice Marshall said:

> "A constitution, to contain an accurate detail of all the subdivisions of which its great powers will admit, and of all the means by which they may be carried into execution, would partake of prolixity of a legal code, and could scarcely be embraced by the human mind. It would probably never be understood by the public. Its nature, therefore, requires that only its great outlines should be marked, its important objects designated, and the minor ingredients which compose those objects be deduced from the nature of the objects themselves."

Pelatiah Webster drew the "great outlines" of our Federal Constitution; he set up the framework of governmental timbers, leaving the inner construction to be completed by the members of the Federal Convention of 1787, and by the power of defining the law vested in the Supreme Court of the United States. Marshall's reward for his part of the work is world-wide fame and an imposing monument at the door of the Capitol. And yet without Pelatiah Webster John Marshall's work would have been impossible. He simply gave vitality, through the judicial power, to the new national fabric which Webster had evolved.

Not long ago, the good people of Philadelphia, ever proud of their worthies, took, with pomp and circumstance, all that was mortal of James Wilson from his lonely grave at Edenton, North Carolina, and gave him tardy sepulchre near the scene of his triumphs; while, by a brilliant pen, he was presented to the world as "a nation-builder." Great, prophetic, patriotic, cultured, as James Wilson really was, how small his achievements really are when contrasted with those of the real founder, the real "nation-builder." The day cannot be far distant when fair and impartial

criticism must award to Pelatiah Webster his place, so long withheld, as the original designer of our Federal Constitution, made in the Convention he was the first to propose. His fame rests upon clear documentary evidence, which neither envy, nor malice, nor injustice, nor indifference can always ignore. His original and complete plan of the existing Federal Constitution is embodied in the thirty compactly printed pages of the epoch-making paper of February 16th, 1783, whose form is as good as its substance. Like the great Papinian, he was as lucid as a Greek and as terse as a Roman. Political philosopher, financier, patriot, man of affairs, he possessed every qualification for his great task, which he executed in a state of mental exaltation that seems to have been almost supernormal. In both of the scanty and stingy biographical notices of him in the leading American encyclopædias, the statement is made that his plan "is mentioned by James Madison as having an influence in directing the public mind to the necessity of a better form of government." Bancroft, in his "History of the Constitution," * states, in his cold, colorless way, that:

"The public mind was ripening for a transition from a confederation to a real government. Just at this time Pelatiah Webster, a graduate of Yale College, in a dissertation published at Philadelphia, proposed for the legislature of the United States a congress of two houses which should have ample authority for making laws 'of general necessity and utility,' and enforcing them *as well on individuals as on states.* He further suggested not only heads of executive departments, but judges of law and equity."

While the great invention of a federal government acting directly on the citizen, for which the world had been waiting for more than two thousand years, is thus languidly admitted, it wins less acclaim from this arctic historian than would be awarded to-day to the inventor of a non-explosive tire for an automobile. The great and acute author of "The American Commonwealth," who seldom overlooks anything, gives no sign that he has ever heard even the name of the original designer of the Constitution of the United States. For this marvellous and cruel neglect of such a man, by a patriotic people ever handy with monuments, only one explanation can be given. When the Convention of 1787 adjourned, its members seem to have been overcome at the

* Vol. i, p. 86.

close by the grandeur of an achievement they assumed to be all their own. When the masses of the people had the opportunity to examine its provisions, and to feel the practical benefits which it wrought in their political condition, they too became imbued with a spirit of intense admiration; they put it upon a pedestal and made it a popular idol; as a German historian has expressed it, the new Constitution soon passed through a process of canonization. In that way the idea crystallized that the new idol was manufactured, out and out, in a convention of demigods who sat only four months and three days. That purely fanciful notion is fast giving way before the Historical Method, which looks behind written constitutions in order to ascertain the genesis of the ideas that entered into them. When scrutinized by students of that school, who believe that beneath every shell there is an animal, behind every document there is a man, Pelatiah Webster's claim to the personal authorship of the scheme of federal government embodied in the Constitution of the United States presents no difficulties whatever. According to all legitimate canons of criticism, his claim to the authorship of that plan, severed from details and considered as a connected whole, is as clear as Jefferson's to the authorship of the Declaration of Independence. Let us hope that the day is near at hand when the claim of the New England patriot and philosopher will be frankly admitted, and an imposing monument erected on some lonely eminence near the Capitol at Washington to the original designer of the unique plan of federal government embodied in the Constitution of the United States.

HANNIS TAYLOR.

SINN FEIN.

BY SEUMAS MAC MANUS, AUTHOR OF "A LAD OF THE O'FRIELS," "DONEGAL FAIRY-STORIES," ETC.

VERY quietly and silently, during the past decade, a change has been coming over the face of things political in Ireland, a change of which the outside world even to-day knows little. Yet the change is one of the greatest, most revolutionizing, that Ireland has known for a century—singular, too, among changes in Ireland, and all the more powerful, perhaps, because of the grim silence in which it has been wrought. While the outside world was looking to the Irish Parliamentary Party as the guardian of the national conscience of Ireland, a Young Ireland Party, determined, virile, thoughtful, idealistic and, strange though it may seem, practical, was gradually forming, becoming a power, sweeping away outworn ideas, preaching new and putting them into practice, and working wonders in the revival of a genuine national spirit throughout the country. It was not a party formed with malice aforethought, but one called forth by the exigencies of the times; a party, consequently, that existed long without form and without name. Some of its component units had been devoting themselves to stemming the tide of emigration; some to reviving industries; a greater portion studying, and making all whom they came in contact with study, the dying language of the nation; some working along political lines; some clamoring for the rearing of forests, and still others building creameries or bringing into the country new breeds of hens—but all driving to one goal, the regeneration of the Irish nation. Naturally, and very gradually, the various units gravitated toward one another; and, less than two years ago, under the guidance of a Dublin boy named Arthur Griffith, they elected a

National Council, and formed themselves into a party known as the "Sinn Fein Party," which included probably three-fourths of the national thinkers in Ireland. Since its inception, the Sinn Fein Party has been rapidly gaining power, raising itself upon the ruins of a fast crumbling Parliamentary agitation, and eventually leaping into greater popular prestige when, recently, the ludicrous Irish Councils Bill was submitted to the nation as the fruits of a generation of Parliamentary agitation.

"*Sinn Fein*" is Gaelic for "Ourselves." The doctrine of the Sinn Fein Party is that the salvation of a nation is to be wrought out by the people and upon the soil of that nation, and it holds that "God helps those who help themselves." It asks Ireland to cultivate, what for a long time it neglected, self-reliance, and aims at regenerating the Irish nation, not merely politically, but also linguistically, industrially, educationally, morally and socially. Almost all preceding national movements made the grave mistake of considering politics coincident with patriotism; the Sinn Fein policy provides for all-round upbuilding of the nation, and is successfully working along many lines on which no political movement touched before.

I said that the new movement was rising upon the ruins of the so-called Parliamentary movement. Not merely were thinkers slowly forsaking the old methods for the new, but practically no new material whatever has been going to repair the breaches in the old; for, as the young men and women of Ireland are reaching the age at which they take thought for their country, they are falling into the ranks of the new movement. There is absolutely no accession of new blood flowing to the old movement—nor has there been for five years past.

The case made by thinking Ireland against the rapidly dissolving Irish Parliamentary Party is, not merely that they have fallen away from the ideals which they cherished, say, in Parnell's heyday, and in weak moments, for mere temporary advantage, yielded some of the principles most cherished in Ireland; that they have shown the spirit of slavish complaisance and compromise, admitted into their ranks most unworthy, un-Irish, members, totally neglected many of the noblest national interests, and in some cases, as in their attitude toward the Gaelic League, actually adopted a spirit of cloaked hostility; and in consequence of this, and many other sins, that they have become

impotent, and the mere pawns of British parties who used them when they could be useful, and brushed them aside when they were in the way—not merely that Ireland spent in London, for the support of her Members, £25,000 annually, which was badly needed to build mills and give employment and help the Gaelic revival, or otherwise forward national interest at home; but, greatest objection of all, they have, says the Sinn Fein Party, transferred the scene of struggle from its rightful and profitable place, the soil of Ireland, to its wrongful and unprofitable place, the floor of a foreign House of Parliament. It is claimed that this fighting of Ireland's fight in the Parliament of the stranger not merely weakens Ireland's political case, but demoralizes the nation by lifting her eyes and her mind from off herself, and fixing them on that foreign Parliament, leading her to believe that salvation shall, and must, come to Ireland from Westminster, instead of causing her to realize that salvation must be wrought out in Ireland by Ireland; and that the means of salvation were, all the time, lying at hand, neglected and despised.

The Parliamentary Party committed a great crime against the nation when, during the long-sustained Parliamentary agitation, they, while they had the country as a unit at their beck, never asked the country to do the things which lay at hand for its regeneration. Seeing the flower of the country depart in shiploads that darkened the seas, they never cried out, "Stick by the soil." Seeing our industries languish and die, they troubled not to revive or save them. Seeing the education of the country mismanaged, they objected not. Seeing the demon of Anglicization overrun the land, they showed not the people to cast out the demon, as easily they could. Seeing the soul of the nation passing away with the passing language, they raised no voice in protest. Yet, with wonderful and heroic energy, did they fight for some doubtful boon which was named "Home Rule"; they seemed utterly to disregard the question, whether, when (if ever) that Home Rule should be obtained, any would be left in Ireland to enjoy it, or, if any were, whether they would be Irish or merely soulless nondescripts.

In the thirty-five years during which the Home Rule Party has been busy regenerating Ireland in the British Parliament, Ireland's Gaelic speakers decreased by a third of a million, her population fell away by more than one million, we were sending

out of Ireland an annual average of £13,000,000 for foreign manufactured goods, and 980,000 acres of land went out of tillage, while we sent an annual average of 60,000 of the fittest of our boys and girls abroad to seek employment—and never to return. The two things which thrived in Ireland during the same period were paupers and taxes. In that period the paupers increased by 32,000, or one for every square mile, and British Government taxes increased from £6,900,000 to £9,700,000.

The wresting from England of a something known by the magic name of "Home Rule" was far above all other national considerations of moment, far beyond that of the people's material and moral and national well-being. In the fierce thirty-five years' struggle—now ended—for a parish Parliament, the petty questions of saving to Ireland the outrushing youth of Ireland, of feeding the hungry mouths that remained in Ireland, of elevating them morally, or giving them ideals, could not be tolerated to distract the people's attention from the gladiator strife at Westminster. The people, with pathetic faithfulness to the Party, made all the sacrifices demanded,* fought the fight, bore the blows, paid the piper, and refused to do for themselves any one of the hundred things they might have done, lest such would interfere with the concentrated train of thought necessary for absent treatment—at Westminster—and, at the end of all is tendered to them the promised salvation in the form of an Irish Councils Bill, which, while it amused the giver and tickled the world at large, gave Ireland a rude awakening.

As generations of Parliamentary agitation have distinctly set back Ireland's cause, and as there is on the English Statute-Book, still unrepealed, an Act popularly known as the Renunciation Act, passed in 1783, when the combined terrors of a war of Independence in America, and a huge army of threatening Volunteers in Ireland caused England's heart to melt—an Act which states that the right of Ireland to be bound only by laws

* It must not be imagined that the Party had a royal time while the people were making sacrifices. To their great credit be it said that none made greater sacrifices than did the members of the Party. They never asked the people to do anything which they were not themselves prepared to lead the way in. Slander, imprisonment, police batons, overwork, ill-health—they cheerfully underwent all for sake of the cause that was near to their hearts, but which they were, unwittingly, running to ruin. I do not know any other country in which the leading political party was more upright.

enacted by the Parliament of Ireland "is hereby declared established and ascertained forever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable," the Sinn Fein Party in Ireland, following the example so successfully set by Hungary, under Deak, call upon the Irish people to hold England bound at least by her own solemn assertions; to withdraw their representatives from illegal attendance at England's Parliament; and to establish in Ireland, for the nation's guidance, a Council of the Nation. This Council should, as far as possible, pass laws, to be put in force by Arbitration Courts (a course not unknown to Ireland), and should plan how best to uplift the nation by the nation's own efforts—to regenerate it morally, socially, educationally, agriculturally, industrially, linguistically and politically; and also plan and direct the carrying on of a resistance (both passive and active) to all British law, and, as far as possible, to all British levied taxes, an agitation aimed at harassing England, and paralyzing England's efforts at every turn in Ireland, and—by alliance with other wronged peoples, in other parts of the world—outside of Ireland, too. This new policy would be both obstructive and destructive: while the energies of some would be turned to the good work (at present going on) of depriving England's Army and Navy of the recruits whom they have so long depended upon in Ireland, others would foster new industries; others, salaried out of the £25,000 a year saved to Ireland by the withdrawal of her Members from Westminster, would act as foreign Consuls, finding foreign markets for the output of our factories; and still others would be preaching and teaching Gaelicism. No nation can persist in governing another against the will of the governed. Ireland, if she will,—and I think she will,—can make it impossible for England any longer to govern her, at least unless England concentrates upon the governing of Ireland all the energies, moral and physical, which in the natural course she needs to distribute over her vast Empire: and soon would she realize that this does not pay. The harder England pushes the fight—and at the start she will push it hard enough—the more fuel will she add to the Irish fire. Our people never develop real gusto in a fight until the hardest knocks begin coming their way; and it is certain that the easiest method of vanquishing an Irishman is to leave him severely alone.

Many sensible, earnest people will at first sight claim that the

withdrawal of the Irish Members from Westminster will be disastrous to Ireland—pointing out all the good measures that, as it seems to them, the Irish Party in Parliament have won for Ireland. The good earnest people who think so are, unfortunately, not as thoughtful as they are good and earnest. Ireland is legislated for in the British Parliament, just as the British majority desire. While the Irish representation present have but the faintest effect in modifying this legislation, and never in directing it, still the fact that they are present, that they take part in it, that they haggle for tuppence-ha'porth more value at this point, for a little less repression at that, and for permission to call their souls their own at a third point, satisfies to itself the complaisant conscience of the British Parliament, and saves its face to the world. Whereas, if the Irish representation withdrew in a body, and threw the *onus* of all Irish legislation upon the British Parliament, the latter would be left in the position of the judge, who, coming to convict, but indiscreetly provoking the counsel for the defence into throwing up the brief, found on his shoulders the *onus* of the life of the man in the dock, and was thus forced for the most selfish of reasons to fight the case for the defence himself, charge the prisoner and set him free. Furthermore, it weakens our cause when, while proclaiming that Britain has no right to govern us, we send to her Councils, every year, the picked men of our country, to aid the wronger in the doing of wrong. Finally, it is a mistake to suppose that the withdrawal of the Irish representation from Westminster would be a loss to Ireland, "because the Irish Parliamentary Party has already wrung notable concessions from Britain." That has not yet wrung from Britain as much of a concession as would pay deck-fare for the Party between Kingstown and Holyhead. All "concessions" wrung from Britain by Ireland were wrung by the people of Ireland, struggling for Ireland, on the soil of Ireland, making it impossible, or impracticable, for the English to get along without yielding the concession. The greatest concession of the century that has passed was the Catholic Emancipation Act of '29. And then we had an Irish Parliamentary Party of—one! It will hardly be contended that he floored the British Government — brave man though he was. After the Emancipation Act was passed, the Tithes question was the burning one of the day in Ireland. The

people of Ireland, naturally, thought it unjust that they should pay Tithes to a Church to which they did not belong. In 1831, the Tithes agitation was convulsing Ireland. Dan O'Connell, assuring the people that he would get Parliament to rectify that, appealed to the Government to suspend the collection of Tithes in Ireland pending the result of a Commission that had been appointed to inquire into the subject. Parliament laughed at Dan for his pains. To the end of a dozen blue moons, O'Connell might have agitated this question in Parliament, to the continued amusement or boredom of the House, had not the people taken a more persuasive way of reaching the ear and the heart of England, by resisting the collection of Tithes even to bloodshed. Then England at once hearkened to Ireland's voice, and sent speedy order over the land that all collecting of Tithes must be immediately stopped. At the reopening of Parliament, the King of England, for the first time, begged his faithful Lords and Commons to give careful consideration to the question of Tithes in Ireland! And a Tithes Act followed. Dan O'Connell's great and continual agitation in Ireland was successful, because it was agitation for Ireland in Ireland. It would have been more successful had he not divided the people's attention by turning their minds at the same time to the British Parliament.

The other greatest Acts of the century were the Church Disestablishment Act of '69, the Land Act of '70 and the Land Act of '81. When the two former Acts were got we had no Irish Parliamentary Party whatever; Ireland was represented only by Tories and place-hunting Whigs. In a speech in Parliament, afterwards, Gladstone confessed that it was Fenianism which caused him to disestablish the Church. And Mr. John Redmond, the present Leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, confesses (in his introduction to Barry O'Brien's "Seventy Years of Irish History") that: "It was Fenianism that disestablished the Church and carried the Land Act of '70." Again, regarding the great Land Act of '81, Gladstone, in a speech after the event, said: "I am now free to confess, that if it were not for the Land League in Ireland, the Act of '81 would not be in the Statute-Book." And so, if, descending from the larger Acts, we were to examine the smaller, we should find in every instance that every concession wrung from England was wrung from her by the agitation of the people of Ireland, in Ireland, and that the se-

curing of these concessions was quite irrespective of the fact that there was or was not an Irish Party fighting for Ireland "on the floor of the British House of Commons"; and, furthermore, that the value of the concession was ever in direct proportion to the intensity of the struggle upon the soil.

There was one fight, indeed, put up for Ireland, and well and bravely put up, on "the floor of the House"—and there only. About a dozen years ago, a Royal Commission found, after exhaustive inquiry, that a paternal Government had accepted from Ireland a trifle of £250,000,000* over and above her just contribution to the Imperial purse. This fact awakened the slumbering patriotism even of the anti-Irish portion of Ireland, the Conservative, landlord and Orange classes, and both Nationalist and Conservative Irish Members of Parliament joined, for the first time, in demanding the redress of an Irish grievance in Parliament—asking that the sum unjustly taken from Ireland should be restored to her. This question was well and stubbornly fought, *in Parliament,* by a united Irish representation. Though there were many meetings on the subject in Ireland—meetings to a great extent organized and addressed by landlords and Conservatives, the titled and the well-to-do—the Financial Relations Question, as it was called, never took a hold upon the hearts of our people, and well and stubbornly though it was fought in Parliament, the Briton did not relax his grasp upon the millions which his own Commission confessed he had wrongly taken, nor yield a solitary cent in restitution. The Briton's proverbial sense of fair play, however, was exemplified in the fact that the Irish Nationalists, Unionists and Conservatives were allowed unstinted scope, and had even days set specially apart for airing the great grievance. Orating in Parliament, by the Irish Members, the Briton, on the whole, loves to encourage; it is a capital safety-valve.

The Young Ireland which has found form in the Sinn Fein Party is not a young Ireland of theory merely; it is a young Ireland of thought coupled with action. Recognizing that the language of a nation is a nation's dearest asset—the nation's soul, in fact—and seeing that its language was rapidly passing from Ireland, while as it receded a wave of Anglicization was oversweeping the land, the thoughtful ones set themselves to the

* In less than fifty years.

great, the seemingly hopeless, task of stemming this tide, and bringing back over Ireland the vanishing Gaelic tongue—knowing well that should they succeed in restoring to Ireland its tongue, with it would come all the good old Irish characteristics that the people had been fast losing, the characteristics that were their own, and that suited them, of course, far better than the characteristics natural to another very distinct people could suit them—characteristics from which, alone, their good qualities and their great qualities (if they had such) could be developed. Such was the shameful demoralization caused by Anglicizing influences in Ireland that our language, by all philologists admitted to be one of the world's rare linguistic possessions, had fallen from esteem; the well-to-do, grown English in mind, despised it, and the poor grew ashamed of it; it was practically banished from the schools, and had almost been silenced in the churches, while in the Courts of Law, poor mountain men, who knew too little English to warrant their taking oath in that language, were threatened with imprisonment for insisting upon the use of their own language. To all intents and purposes, it seemed to have become a language of the past, when the younger Ireland, taking thought, said that for the nation's salvation it must again be the language of Ireland. Twelve years ago, the language was being taught to, at most, a bare few thousand pupils, and the workers in the cause might be reckoned upon one's fingers: to-day the workers are reckoned by the thousand; between pupils of National schools, Intermediate schools, Convents and Colleges, and adults at night classes, there are a quarter of a million studying the Irish language. Irish Colleges for the teaching of pupils in Irish only, and for the training of teachers to teach Irish, have been established in the four Provinces. Many Railways and Banks have been compelled to recognize Irish: for thousands of positions to which Irish boys and girls aspire to-day, a knowledge of Irish has become an absolute necessity. Many District Councils, County Councils and some city Corporations have made it a rule that positions in their gift will not henceforth be awarded to any person who knows not his own language: scores of newspapers and periodicals give a portion of their space to the printing of Gaelic items in Gaelic type; there are some periodical publications printed entirely in Gaelic; and the output of Gaelic literature, in the form of fiction, poetry,

drama and history is great—some hundreds of thousands of Gaelic books being put forth by the press in each of these years. The Gaelic League has its network of Branches all over Ireland and in almost every corner of the world where bands of earnest Irishmen are to be found. After a hard fight with the Commissioners of so-called "National" Education in Ireland, the teaching of Irish was, in the primary schools, established on a fairly favorable basis, enabling and inducing a great portion of the teachers to teach it; and the fight for its proper recognition in the schools still goes on, and will continue until, with God's help, it is made, as it should be, compulsory in every primary school in Ireland—made, at least, of equal importance with the English language, taught side by side, and step by step, with it. Ten years, at most, will see this latter fight fought and won; then will all the rising generation acquire the knowledge and the use of the Irish language, and in a quarter of a century from now, while a knowledge of English will still be with our people, our own language, the language that was thought dead, will once more be the language of the fireside, and—so far as it can—the language of the Church and the language of the Council and the language of our literature—the language of Ireland.

The revival of the language,—with its hundred beneficial results,—is only one of several planks in the platform of the new party. It recognizes, for instance, that a first necessity for, not merely a new and great Irish nation, but an Irish nation at all, is that the Irish people must be preserved to the nation. It recognizes that in seventy years Ireland, notwithstanding the beneficent influence of British rule, lost one-half of her population, while the small countries of the Continent, worse circumstanced than Ireland in many respects, but laboring under the blighting influence of their own rule, or, at worst, tyrannical Russian rule, have some of them increased by fifty, some by seventy and some by one hundred per cent. Emigration, of course, was the terrible drain upon Ireland. Want of employment was the root of the evil. This emigration, say the new party, must stop. Had we the right of governing ourselves, it had been an easy task to remedy it. But even without that right, say the determined young party, it can and shall be remedied by a little display of energy and of patriotism on the part of the Irish people. For the purchase of goods of foreign manufacture there is sent out

of Ireland, annually, thirteen million pounds—the greater portion of which could be kept at home, giving employment to many thousands who otherwise must go abroad to seek a livelihood. Anti-emigration and industrial movements are linked together. The industrial crusade is a live one, and one that is working wonders. In this as in other things the thinkers and workers of young Ireland do not depend upon precept alone for the instilling of their new doctrine—they practice what they preach. The thousands of workers in the Gaelic League and Sinn Fein clothe themselves from crown of head to sole of foot in articles of Irish manufacture, and use likewise, so far as possible, only Irish-made articles in their daily avocations and relaxations, even down to the matter of the match which they apply to their Irish-made pipe. The example by them set is spreading, not merely to those in sympathy with them in their political aspirations, but even to an important section of the pro-British body in Ireland, who, lacking a higher kind of patriotism, may always be reached by the patriotism of the pocket; for they, finding that their business has in many instances materially improved under the influence of the new industrial doctrine, have become convinced that it is a fine thing for Ireland, and have come to preach and practise it in their turn. The result of this particular portion of the movement is that all manufactures in Ireland have materially increased their output during the past few years. Some, notably weaving and paper-making, have doubled their output; and several new manufactures have sprung up to meet the new demands. Wages have materially increased in Ireland, employment is much more plentiful than it was and the necessity for emigrating much less. Of course, emigration has not ceased, as the necessity ceased. Let a great habit take possession of a nation, and you may not break it in a day, nor in a year, nor, maybe, in ten years. But remove the cause and, in addition, give a new mental attitude, and the habit must gradually disappear. Emigration from Ireland, on any important scale, will be, ere long, I think, a thing of the past; and immigration, which has hitherto been insignificant, will increase. I do not think this immigration will be of such notable extent as materially to affect the population figures; but, as Ireland gets more prosperous materially, brighter socially and more hopeful nationally, greater numbers of our people who have made fortunes in America will

return to settle down with us; and the coming again of these, to the home of their fathers, will have marked effect morally, if not numerically.

Still another practical work that young Ireland is and has been successfully performing, is the eradication of the drink evil. Though, as shown by statistics, and despite popular tradition, an Irishman drinks less than either the Englishman or the Scotchman, the Young Ireland Party are determined that, in the future, the Irishman's annual drink bill will not bear comparison with that of Englishman, or Scotchman, or Frenchman, or American. They hope by taking hold of the rising generation, and enlisting them in an anti-drink crusade, entirely to eradicate the drink habit here. The workers in the new movement are almost entirely non-drinkers; thousands of them have come to consider it disgraceful to enter a public house. Recognizing, too, that the treating habit in Ireland was responsible for far more drinking, and even drunkenness, than was love of drink itself, they adopted an anti-treating pledge, a pledge forbidding a man either to take a treat or give a treat, and have carried on, throughout the country, an anti-treating crusade, till now there are hundreds of thousands of people in Ireland pledged against treating, which, it is confidently believed, will fast fall into disrepute and disuse. The anti-drinking portion of the new party's programme cuts two ways: not only must it uplift the country morally and materially, but it may deprive England of a five-million-pound drink revenue, which has been annually going into the Imperial exchequer from Ireland.

The foregoing are, maybe, the more important of the many activities of the very virile Young Ireland that, pursuing the policy of Sinn Fein, is going to draw the world's attention to itself immediately. It is a more thoughtful Young Ireland, this, than any Young Ireland yet known to history. The new Party has the signal advantage over all predecessors, that it is not merely a political party: while a considerable portion of its forces carries on the war, offensive and defensive, with the enemy, another important body is nation-building, and the two bodies are capable of, and are, relieving each other. The struggle shall go on till Ireland's rights, complete, sovereign and independent, are wrung from the power that has so long held them wrongfully.

SEUMAS MAC MANUS.

THE YELLOW PRESS OF JAPAN.

BY A. MAURICE LOW.

SINCE the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Japan—in the yellow press of both countries—a curious idea has obtained currency in America. Japan having exercised during the war with Russia the most wonderful press censorship that has ever been known in the history of journalism; and the press of Japan having displayed unexampled patriotism by publishing only such news as might be of advantage to national interests, and having refrained from publishing a single word that might cause embarrassment, Americans have been led to believe that the censorship of the press in Japan is more rigid and more strictly enforced than in Russia even, and that nowhere in the world does the Government more autocratically exercise its power in controlling the press. To us of the West, Japan is a mystery, and its greatest mystery is the duality of its psychology—the dual personality of every Japanese, who in peace is simple, frank, light-hearted, singularly impressionable to color and form, and democratically independent; but in time of war is nothing, sees nothing, does nothing except as the incarnation of patriotism. This transformation, which affects an entire nation, is no more strikingly displayed than by the press.

The taunt used to be flung at the Japanese in the early days of the war with Russia that as imitators they were inimitable. The Japanese was clever, that could not be disputed, but it was the cleverness of mimicry, not that of creative ability. To that indictment the Japanese smilingly pleaded guilty, with a reservation. They had imitated, or, more correctly, they had assimilated, everything that was best, improved on it where it was necessary, and adapted it to their own peculiar needs. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Japanese Constitution, broadly

patterned on that of England, but in one respect, at least, more nearly resembling that of the United States, should contain a provision respecting the freedom of the press. The English Constitution is unwritten; it is statute law, and the law of precedent and custom; it is what the people and Parliament make it to keep pace with the spirit of the age; as rigid as the stone walls of the palace at Westminster, as flexible as a bow of steel. The American Constitution is a code narrow and defined. Japan's Constitution is written. The Constitution of the United States guarantees freedom of speech and liberty of the press in these terms: "Congress shall make no laws . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." Article XXIX of the Japanese Constitution, in almost similar terms, provides that "Japanese subjects shall, within the limits of law, enjoy the liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meetings and associations."

The Marquis Ito, in his commentaries on the Constitution, says:

> "Speeches, writings, publications, public meetings and associations are the *media* through which men exercise their influence in political or social spheres. In every constitutional country full freedom is granted in all of these particulars, in so far as there is no abuse of them by way of commission of crime or of disturbance of peace and tranquillity; and it is hoped that in this way interchange of thought may be promoted, and that useful materials may thus be supplied for the advancement of civilization. But as every one of these edged tools can easily be misused, it is necessary, for the maintenance of public order, to punish by law, and to prevent by police measures delegated by law, any infringement by use thereof upon the honor or the rights of any individual, any disturbance of the peace of the country, or any instigation to crime. These restrictions must, however, be determined by law, and lie beyond the sphere of ordinances."

The freedom of the press in England is part of the result of the long struggle between democracy and special privilege. With the invention of printing, the press was placed under the censorship of the Church, and in England became a royal prerogative; men were whipped and imprisoned and mutilated for printing without a royal license, until the force of public opinion drove Parliament to abolish the censorship of the press, and the famous letters of Wilkes and Junius brought about a modification of the drastic law of libel and laid the foundation of the real freedom of the press of England.

The "war powers" of Congress are unlimited, but undefined by the Constitution. To meet the extraordinary emergency of war, the Government of the United States has established a censorship of the press, and has suppressed newspapers guilty of treasonable utterances or that gave aid and encouragement to the enemy. Great Britain is governed by Parliament and ruled by the Cabinet, and whatever the Cabinet does is constitutional, but it has no power to exercise control over the matter a newspaper may publish. The contrast between the attitude of the press in Japan during their war and the English press during the Boer war produced such a profound impression upon many English public men that, last year, an effort was made to secure the passage of a law which would give the Government a certain control over the press in time of war; but the matter has not yet advanced beyond the stage of discussion. The framers of the Japanese Constitution, recognizing the menace of an unbridled and irresponsible press, when a nation is at war, with extraordinary foresight put a clause in the Constitution by which the press is rendered impotent to do harm in a time of national peril. The fourteenth article of the Japanese Constitution provides that: "The Emperor declares a state of siege. The conditions and effects of a state of siege shall be determined by law." Marquis Ito, in his commentaries, says that a state of siege is to be declared at the time of a foreign war or of a domestic insurrection, for the purpose of placing all ordinary law in abeyance, and of entrusting part of the administration and judicial powers to military measures. He continues:

"The present article expressly provides that the conditions requisite for the declaration of a state of siege and the effect of the declaration shall be determined by law, and that, in pursuance of these provisions thereof, it appertains exclusively to the sovereign power of the Emperor, under stress of circumstances, to declare or revoke a state of siege. By 'conditions' is meant the nature of the crisis when a state of siege is to be declared, the necessary limits as to territorial extent affected, and rules needful for making the declaration. By 'effect' is meant the limit of the power called in force as the result of the declaration of a state of siege."

By virtue of this article, at the outbreak of the war with Russia the necessary law was passed, and the press of Japan was brought under its provisions. It is probable that without such a

law the immanent spirit of patriotism that is such a marked characteristic of the Japanese people would have made them refrain from publishing anything that might have been of assistance to Russia, but the Japanese singularly combine the ideal with the practical. They take no chances when chances are to be avoided. The law was passed—drastic, ironclad, swift in its execution. No loopholes, no legal subtleties, no chance for delay. The press was under the heel of the military despot, as it is necessary that the press shall be when a nation is fighting for its existence.

But that was in time of war. In time of peace, Japanese newspapers do not materially differ from newspapers published in the United States or in England, in France or in Germany. There are responsible and respectable newspapers in Japan that pride themselves on their style, their accuracy and their moderation, precisely as do newspapers in the United States or in Europe; and there are yellow journals in Japan exactly as there are sensational papers in this country, and the ha'penny press in England, and the gutter rags of the boulevards in Paris. East and West, human nature is much the same. When Japan is at peace, there is little restriction placed on the press. It may publish what it pleases and what it thinks will suit its readers. There is the law of libel, which is the risk that every publisher must take. There is a law that prohibits the publication by a newspaper of confidential military, naval or diplomatic information. There are the laws protecting public morality. But of censorship, as it is exercised in Japan in war or in Russia at all times, there is none. The Japanese editor is as untrammelled as his American confrère. He may be ponderous or flippant, respectable or disreputable; dull or lively; he may defend the Government or attack it; he may be pro-American or anti-American; a trust-buster or a champion of the octopus, and he runs no risk of coming into conflict with the Government. With all their docility and suavity, the Japanese can be easily aroused to excitement, and in their politics they are as vitriolic and venomous as we proud Saxons, who in our conceit believe we possess a monopoly even of vices. In the whole of the Empire there is perhaps only one person immune from newspaper attack. The Constitution, recognizing that "the Emperor is sacred and inviolable," not even the yellowest paper ever discusses him except with pro-

found respect, and although that sanctity does not extend to the princes of the blood royal, as a matter of fact they are seldom the subject of criticism by the newspapers. But with those exceptions no man occupies a station so exalted or so humble that he can escape journalistic assault. In that respect, there is little difference between journalism in America and journalism in Japan.

There are twelve principal daily papers in Tokio, ten of them appearing in the morning only, and two having both morning and evening editions. These papers are "*Niroku,*" or, in English, "The Whole Day" (these titles are transliterated rather than translated); "*Yorodzu-choho*" or "*Mancho,*" "All the News Published in the Morning"; "*Hochi,*" "Intelligence"; "*Miyako,*" "The Capital or City"; "*Chuoo,*" "The Centre"; "*Jiji,*" "Current Affairs"; "*Nichinichi,*" "The Tokio Daily"; "*Asahi,*" "The Morning News"; "*Yomiuri,*" "The Crier or the Herald"; "*Kokumin,*" "Nation"; "*Nihon,*" "Japan"; "*Mainichi,*" "The Daily." The first three—"*Niroku,*" "*Yorodzu-choho*" and "*Hochi*"—are preeminently the yellow papers of Japan, and so long as they exist there is no danger of yellow journalism becoming a lost art. They play the game for all it is worth; they pose as independent in politics and as the champions of the people; but, as a Japanese public man remarked, they are the organ of anybody or anything that is popular and will increase circulation, and they are usually in opposition to the Government, because that is generally the popular side, and, of course, they give much of their space to politics. But they are shrewd enough not to be overweighted with politics, and space is liberally used in the publication of "unwholesome news," again to quote this Japanese public man—scandals in high and low life with as many salacious details as the public authorities will permit, accidents, horrors, sensations of every description, all done in the highest form of the art with broad saffron strokes so as to produce the most telling effects. "*Hochi,*" being the yellowest of the yellow, is naturally more often quoted in the United States than the responsible newspapers—for the same reason that the newspapers of Mars which give columns to the report of a scandalous trial are better known to us by name than that distinguished scientific journal the "*Martian Canal*"—and is in some respects the most important and influential

paper in the Island Kingdom, dividing with the conservative "*Asahi*" the honor of having the largest circulation in Japan, estimated at about 120,000 a day. While "*Niroku*" and "*Yorodzu-choho*" profess to be independent in politics, "*Hochi*" is frankly the organ of the Progressive Party.

It is necessary here briefly to explain the party system in Japan. Although broadly modelled on the English system, with a ministry supposed to represent a majority of the electorate as represented in the House of Representatives, the Lower House of the Imperial Diet, Japan constitutionally is still in a transitional stage, and parliamentary government is as yet in its infancy. Instead of there being two great political parties in Japan, as there are in the United States and England, the Continental system of numerous groups exists, and in Japan as in France it is only possible for the Government to obtain a majority by the "*bloc*"—a coalition of groups forced to make common defence to escape being submerged by the Opposition. Speaking broadly, the Government's supporters at the present time, the Constitutional Party, are strict constructionists, while the Opposition, the Progressive Party, would decrease the constitutional power of the Emperor over legislation and increase the power of the Diet or the Parliament. The Cabinet is now really more responsible to the Emperor than to the people; and, although it may have forfeited the confidence of the House, it does not feel compelled to resign until the situation becomes in fact untenable. The Progressives would adopt the English system by which a Cabinet falls *ipso facto* when it no longer has a majority of the House behind it; and although nominally the Sovereign commands a certain man to form a Cabinet, in reality the Sovereign does not attempt to interfere with the free choice of the party leader, whose Cabinet, like his legislative programme, represents the party in a majority in the House of Commons. Since the promulgation of the Constitution in 1889, the Progressives have only for a very brief period fed at the flesh-pots of office, and they are now hungering and thirsting for power, which is an ideal situation for a party organ decked in yellow. American readers, therefore, should not become unduly alarmed when they read cabled extracts from the editorials of the "*Hochi*" or interviews in its columns, because its readers demand their daily meal piping hot and extravagantly seasoned.

Yellow journalism pays, in Japan as elsewhere, which proves that virtue must be content with its own reward rather than a bank account, and both "*Hochi*" and "*Yorodzu-choho*" have men on their staffs who write smartly and in a popular vein; and they keep correspondents in the United States and in England. Every Japanese newspaper of standing has correspondents in Korea and Manchuria because of the political and commercial interests involved, but it is only a few of the leading papers that can afford the luxury of regular correspondents elsewhere. It is interesting to note that, ten or fifteen years ago, "*Hochi*" was one of the most conservative papers in Japan and principally given up to politics; but, with the modernization of Japan, it entirely changed its character, and for business reasons found it more profitable to cease to be dull and heavy and respectable, and to become light, flippant and yellow. It has fallen a victim to that process of metamorphosis with which we are unfortunately familiar in another part of the world. Appealing to the masses, it makes a feature of fiction that from time immemorial has been read by a certain class—the story of the poor but virtuous girl, the heavy villain preying on virtue (in a shawl and a tattered skirt) and the rescuing hero. After all, the distance between the East and the West is bridged by a tawdry love-story in a penny paper.

Not yellow, but quite willing to be, succinctly sums up the character of "*Miyako*" and "*Chuoo,*" neither of which is a paper of large circulation or great influence, although the latter at one time had a standing as the organ of Marquis Ito. It was perhaps occasionally made use of by that eminent statesman, but not of recent years, and neither to its utterances nor to those of "*Miyako*" need undue importance be attached. They are both more respectable than the recognized yellow journals, but neither is sufficiently impressed with the responsibility of journalism to be regarded as typically voicing the public opinion in Japan.

Undoubtedly the most influential and authoritative newspapers of Japan are "*Jiji,*" "*Nichinichi*" and "*Asahi,*" which are widely read for their news as well as their editorial opinions, and accurately reflect public sentiment; usually acting as a restraining influence and upholding the hands of the Government and authority, although with courage and vigor criticising

when the public welfare demands criticism. All three are known as independent newspapers; and while "*Jiji*" and "*Asahi*" have no party affiliations and cannot be influenced by political considerations, "*Nichinichi*" is really the organ of Mr. Kato, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Coalition Cabinet and for a short time Minister of Foreign Affairs in the present Cabinet. If the American reader desires to obtain a fairly accurate idea of representative Japanese opinion, especially among the upper and more cultivated classes, he will read with care whatever he may see credited to "*Jiji*" or "*Asahi*" or "*Nichinichi*," remembering, however, that the latter is the organ of a politician who has held high office and is ambitious again to be in power, but who would not sacrifice national interests for selfish personal gains.

"*Yomiuri*," "*Kokumin*," "*Nihon*" and "*Mainichi*" are papers of the second rank, exercising some influence and having circulations of about from 50,000 to 70,000 each. "*Yomiuri*" is one of the oldest newspapers in Japan, and although its name has been Englished into "The Crier" or "Herald," its Japanese name recalls the old days when news was "cried" by boys going about the streets and calling out the paper's contents in tones not so very different from the raucous cries of the American newsboys shouting their "Extras; Horrible Accident; Fifty People Killed," but in marked contrast to the liquid calls of the Spanish newsboys, who make a one-syllable name musical by the rhythmic accent they give it in their full rounded throats, to whom a consonant is an abomination. At one time, "*Yomiuri*" was of greater importance than it is now, as it was the organ of Count Okuma, the leader of the Progressives, but "*Hochi*" is now generally recognized as expressing his views, and its larger circulation and more popular character make it a more valuable organ than the older and more staid "*Yomiuri*." This paper has always been noted for its literary reviews and criticisms, which it still makes a feature, and is a paper to which women are much attached; there is a flavor of the home and the fireside about it that appeals to them.

"*Kokumin*" is a semi-official paper—that is, it is used sometimes when the Government wants to disseminate news without doing so formally and officially, or when it is deemed advisable to send up a *ballon d'essai* to test the veering currents of public

opinion; consequently, news in the "*Kokumin*" may at times give a hint as to the Government's intentions; but it is not to be too implicitly relied upon, although edited with undeniable ability. "*Nihon*" is an independent paper calling for no particular comment, but "*Mainichi*" is owned and edited by Mr. Shimada, who is a prominent member of the House of Representatives. At one time, he was one of Count Okuma's principal lieutenants, but he no longer follows that leader so devotedly, although in politics he still remains a Progressive. As representing the personal opinions of a prominent politician, "*Mainichi*" may be read with interest, but it must not be accepted too literally, nor must the personal equation be forgotten.

There are two daily papers, both morning, published outside of Tokio that are of importance and exercise considerable influence in Western Japan. The Osaka "*Asahi,*" which is owned by the same proprietors as the Tokio "*Asahi,*" is practically the counterpart of the latter, in politics independent and maintaining the same high standard of journalistic ethics. The Osaka "*Mainichi*" is conducted with ability, but is not above resorting to sensationalism when fiction makes more interesting reading than a bald narrative of facts.

In connection with the press, I desire to say a few words about the political system of Japan, especially as there will soon be an election in Japan which may be of more than usual interest to Americans. The legislature is bicameral, the House of Peers and the House of Representatives, and the former is unique in its membership. In England the Upper House, the House of Lords, consists exclusively of hereditary nobles, but in Japan commoners as well as nobles sit in the Upper Chamber. Every male member of the imperial family on attaining his majority, which is eighteen, is by right entitled to sit in the House of Peers, and so are princes and marquises on reaching the age of twenty-five. The other nobiliary orders, counts, viscounts and barons, are represented in the Peers by members elected by their orders for a term of seven years, the representative peers not exceeding one-fifth of the entire number of their representative order. Any person who has reached the age of thirty, who has rendered distinguished service to the state or given proof of his erudition, may be created by the Emperor a life member of the House of Peers, but this creation does not, paradoxically, en-

noble him. A certain number of persons, elected by cities and prefectures by and from among the largest payers of direct national taxes on land, industry or trade, sit in the House of Peers and hold office for seven years. The Japanese House of Peers, it will be seen, is the most democratic assembly in the world under a form of monarchical government, and because of its peculiar composition it is probably of a higher intellectual average, and more representative of the "best people"—using that term to express intellect rather than birth or money—than any other second chamber. The members who sit there by the accident of birth are comparatively few; the representative peers are naturally those most prominent in their respective orders, and must have given evidence of wisdom, patriotism or other qualification to enable them to secure election; learning and services to the state are represented by the life peers nominated by the Emperor; but to prevent the Emperor from swamping the House with his own creations, the number of life peers may not exceed the number of hereditary peers; and wealth, inherited or acquired, has also its representatives.

The qualifications for the right of suffrage to be exercised at elections for members to the House of Representatives are residence in the election district for one year previous to the drawing up of the list of qualified voters; the payment of an annual land tax of ten yen (approximately, $5) or more for one year previous to the drawing up of the electoral list; or the payment of an annual direct national tax, other than the land tax, of ten yen or more for one year previous to the drawing up of the electoral list; or the payment of ten yen a year in land taxes and other direct national taxes for two years previous to the drawing up of the electoral list. The suffrage is restricted to males, who must be twenty-five years or over, and able to write their own names and those of the candidates for whom they vote. No person is qualified to vote who is incompetent or quasi incompetent as defined by the civil code; who is an undischarged bankrupt or who has been declared by a court of justice as subject for liquidation or insolvency, and who has not finally recovered his rights; who has been deprived of public rights or whose public rights have been suspended; who is under suspension of sentence of imprisonment; who cannot comply with the required educational qualification. Men who are in actual

service in the army or navy, Government students, Shinto priests and all other priests and teachers of religion, teachers in the common schools, contractors for the Government, Government election officials, officials of the Imperial Household department, judges, prosecutors, the president and councillors of the court of administrative litigation, auditors, revenue officials and police officials are ineligible. These exceptions and the property qualification, it is estimated, restrict the electoral franchise to about 4,000,000 out of the 10,000,000 males of voting age in the Empire of Japan.

A. Maurice Low.

JUDICIAL NULLIFICATION OF ACTS OF CONGRESS.

BY PROFESSOR W. TRICKETT, DEAN OF THE DICKINSON SCHOOL OF LAW.

A LAW is a rule which those to whom it is addressed are obliged to observe. Without the obligation, it would be mere admonition. To oblige one to observe a rule is simply to visit him with disagreeable consequences if he should disobey it. This includes investigation into the fact of disobedience, and, disobedience being ascertained, causation of the consequence.

In our political system, one body is set apart to lay down the rules, and other officers are created to enforce them. Since the probability of enforcement is necessary to law, it is evident that a so-called legislature is, in fact, not a legislature unless other officers concerned in administration and execution not only exist, but are purposed, to enforce its enactments. In short, the will of the executive converts the abstract declarations of the legislature into law.

When the Constitution of the United States declares in what way a bill shall become a law, it must mean to state when the wish of the lawmaking body shall become obligatory—that is, when it shall be sympathetically heeded, with purpose to enforce it, by the executive officers. In ordaining that a bill passing both Houses and approved by the President shall become a law, it ordains that it shall then become an obligatory rule of action; that is, that the executive agents of the United States, including the courts, shall enforce it.

Is there any indication that the makers of the Constitution intended that the Executive, in any of its branches, administrative or judicial, should have the right to abort a law by refusing to it the effects whose sequence only gives it the quality of law?

The debates in the Federal Convention are equivocal. It is evident that Gerry, Martin, Mason and Wilson supposed that the courts would be able to consider whether a law was constitutional or not, and, if they decided that it was not, to refuse to enforce it. On the other hand, Mercer, Dickinson and Gouverneur Morris denied to them such a power.

The action of the Convention is more significant than the imperfectly reported sentiments of a few of its members. The attempt was made, and successfully, to unite the Executive with the two Houses of Congress in the making of laws. No bill could become a "law" until submitted to the President, but a thrice-repeated effort to associate with him the Federal judges was decisively defeated. One or two delegates may have opposed their participation in part because they thought the judges could, in the business of execution, annul a law, and for this reason did not need to have it submitted to them at its initiation; but there is no evidence that this view influenced many in rejecting the proposed submission of bills to judges. Such a reason would have been equally good for denying to the President the right of veto. As an executive officer he could, when the occasion for enforcing a statute arose, have considered, like the judge, whether it was constitutional or not, and have refused to execute it if he thought it unconstitutional. A more reasonable interpretation of the acts of the Convention is that the majority did not intend the judges to have any right to elect which of the laws of Congress they would enforce.

That the Conventionists did not intend that the courts should be able to refuse enforcement to acts of Congress, is probably indicated by three striking circumstances. In declaring an act unconstitutional, a court would antagonize Congress to a degree, and might provoke reprisals from that body. The power of impeachment of judges was with Congress, and, as Hamilton concedes in the 83d "Federalist," they might be impeached for declaring acts of Congress unconstitutional. Is it credible that the people who ordained the Constitution intended that the court should have the duty of declaring acts unconstitutional, and yet should be left liable to the vengeance of Congress for so doing? If they had intended to impose on the court so serious a duty, is it not likely that they would have protected the court from assault by the body whose enactments it annulled?

Another significant fact is that the whole appellate power of the Federal judges, and, with the exception of a small number of cases, their whole original jurisdiction, are the creature of Congress. If Congress decides to avoid a decision adverse to its legislation, it needs simply to withhold, or to recall, jurisdiction. A flagrant case of this sort was that of McCardle. Arrested for trial before a military commission, he denied the constitutionality of the law and applied to the Circuit Court of the United States by *habeas corpus* for his liberation. This court refusing to liberate him, he appealed to the Supreme Court. A majority of the judges of that court were of opinion that the law was unconstitutional, but deferred pronouncing a decision in order to give Congress time to repeal the statute under which the court had jurisdiction. Congress repealed the act, and thus the court escaped the unpleasant duty of declaring the act of Congress unconstitutional. It is hardly thinkable that the makers of the Constitution, intending that the court should have the power and be under a duty to pronounce acts of Congress void, should have made that power withdrawable by Congress at any time.

A function so important as that of controlling Congress so as to compel it to observe the limitations of the Constitution, would hardly have been deposited with a court which Congress or any branch of it could control. But the Constitution-makers have given this control to Congress. The creation of the courts is with Congress. The definition of their jurisdiction is with it. If the mind of the court is so attuned that it will decide a measure of legislation unconstitutional, all that is necessary to secure a different mind is for Congress to increase the number of judges; so that the President may nominate and the Senate confirm such additional judges as, with the existing favorers of the measure, will constitute a majority of the court. Something like this, it is charged, was done in connection with the Legal Tender decisions. Whether it was in fact done or not, it is quite practicable, when the President and both Houses of Congress agree on the constitutionality and the desirability of a given piece of legislation. But is it likely that this power over the court would have been given to Congress and the President, if one of the court's functions requires it to control, and not to be controlled by, Congress and the President?

The Constitution makes careful and detailed provision for

submitting a bill to the President before it shall become a law—that is, before it shall become obligatory on subjects of the Government, and enforceable by executive agents. If the courts are to have the power to void statutes despite their passage through the Houses of Congress and their approval by the President, it is deeply regrettable that provision is not made for the regulation of the exercise of so remarkable a jurisdiction.

Ultimately, the Supreme Court exercises the power. But that court may be composed of three, six, nine, fifteen, twenty-five, fifty judges. The Constitution does not prescribe a number. Would the people have consciously given the court of three the power to annul an act passed by three hundred Senators and Representatives, and by a President? The court has never had more than ten members. It has now only nine. These nine men can quash the legislation of the representatives of ninety millions of people. The time is at hand when they will be able to quash the legislation of the representatives of two hundred millions of people, though that legislation were unanimously enacted and unanimously approved by the people.

Again, there is no definition of a quorum of the court. Small as the entire court is, a yet smaller number of judges may be present when a statute is annulled.

There is no rule as to the proportion of judges who are for to those who are against a decree of nullity of a statute. Acts of Congress have very seldom been pronounced void by a unanimous court. In a majority of cases there have been three or even four dissenters. Often the vote of the court has been cast practically by one judge. Did the makers of the Constitution contemplate this? If they had, would they have ordained that a majority of one in a court of nine should set aside the judgment of the minority of the court, of the two Houses of Congress, of the President who approved the bill, possibly of a practically unanimous people whom Congress represents? Propriety and respect for the judgment of a coordinate branch of the Government imperatively require that the small court which condemns the legislation of a numerous Congress, supported by a numerous people, should be unanimous. Would the wise men of 1787 have omitted to require unanimity, had they intended that a court should have this enormous power?

One of the most important prerequisites to law in a modern

state is that its existence and obligation shall be knowable. The Constitution-framers with much particularity tell us how a "bill" is to become a "law," but they intimate nothing as to the possible classification of "laws" into laws that *are* laws and laws that are *not* laws. Would not experienced statesmen, had they supposed that even after a bill had become a "law" it might not be a law, have invented some device by which people could recognize the law that was valid, or could early procure an enlightening decision from the court, before being involved in liabilities in case of mistaken judgment? A law is published. If it is constitutional, A must refrain from doing something which it would be highly useful for him to do. If it is unconstitutional, A can do this with impunity. He must take the risk of mistake in determining whether the law is valid or not, and the risk may be serious. That the makers of the Constitution were aware of the injustice of rules laid down after the fact is evident from their prohibiting *ex post facto* laws. But when a statute is voided from its enactment, by a decision delivered a year or five years afterwards, the law which it was intended to displace becomes practically *ex post facto* as to acts done between its enactment and the annulling decision. Why was no method invented by which immediately upon the passing of an act, and before hazard from obeying or disobeying it, a judgment of the court could be procured? Would the Constitution-makers have deliberately omitted to furnish it?

Various methods have been suggested by which a decision could be obtained within a comparatively short time. One has been an injunction by the court, pending the deliberation upon a bill in Congress, against its enactment. The suggestion of this method has been scoffingly repudiated. Another has been injunction or mandamus directed to the President, or the legal head of a Department or the Attorney-General, requiring him to refrain from taking steps to cause subordinate officers to execute the law, or commanding them to take steps to prevent the execution of the law. This method, so far as applicable to the President, has been rejected. The court has chosen to recognize, as valid for arresting action under void statutes, only the less comprehensive, prompt and efficient methods.

The makers of the Constitution, had they intended that statutes passed with all constitutional forms, should nevertheless be

capable of being voided by the courts, would probably have devised a plan for procuring as early a decision as possible, so as to disengage the public from fear and embarrassment. The courts have adopted the policy of postponing the decision of the constitutionality of an act to the latest possible moment. Nothing is more improbable than that the makers of the Constitution could have intended that even the decision of the highest court, as to the constitutionality of an act, should not be final, that persons relying upon it might yet be overtaken and involved in disaster by a second decision in a contrary sense. Yet, these inconsistent decisions, this absence of all finality, is a mark of American jurisprudence, as actually developed under the Constitution.

The judges are not selected by the people, nor answerable to the people. Appointed, they hold office practically for life. They are not removable, as are the judges in England and in several of the States, upon the address of both Houses of Congress, even were that address unanimous. This little group of nine men can apply an interpretation to the Constitution which no one outside of the court applies to it, and annul the will of people, Congress and the President, in the name of what they declare to be the will and intention of the dead men of 1787. Could it have been the will and intention of these men, that the opinion of them entertained by these nine should be stronger and more prevalent than that of all the nation besides?

The people who adopted the Constitution directly created Congress, and only indirectly created the court through Congress. The people directly elect the members of the Lower House, and by their State legislatures elect the members of the Upper House. They elect a President nominally through electors, but really directly. This President and the Senate appoint the judges. Could the constituent people have intended the creature of their Congress to be superordinate to Congress? Although Alexander Hamilton, in the 78th "Federalist," denies that a court which can annul an act of Congress is *ipso facto* superior to Congress, it is self-evident that, in so far as law can get enforcement only with the cooperation of a court, if the court exercises the right to say what law it will, and what it will not, enforce, the power of Congress to effect its legislative will depends on the consent of the court, and Congress is *pro tanto* inferior to it.

The people intended the Constitution to be obeyed, the grants no less than the restrictions of it. They attached as much importance to the former as to the latter. If a court had the power to define the restrictions, it would have the power to take away from Congress, by mistake or malevolence, that which the people gave it—that is, it might make the people incapable of doing through the legislators what they intended to be able to do. On the other hand, if Congress has the final judgment as to the power conferred upon it, it may exceed its intended legislative limits. Which of these possible evils is the larger? That of defeating the people's will by incapacitating them through Congress to legislate, or that of defeating it by making a wider legislation possible than was designed? Is it clear that the constituent people thought the former less objectionable than the latter? Where is the evidence? But to concede the power of the court to annul statutes is to incur the risk of the former.

Did the constituent people think that a body of six or nine would understand their Constitution better than their immediate elect, the House, and their mediate elect, the Senate, and the President? Did they think the intelligence to know their will as expressed in that instrument, would be more acute in six or nine than in two hundred or three hundred?

The court would be composed exclusively of members of one profession, all with similar mental habits, proclivities and ideals. Did the people think that these lawyers would understand their intention better than educated physicians, teachers, financiers, merchants, manufacturers, farmers, or their delegates in Congress? Did they intend to put in the hands of nine lawyers the power to paralyze legislation, thus bestowing on one profession a primacy quite unique in the world?

If a Congress and President enact what, in the judgment of the people, is an unconstitutional law, the people can correct the error, by agitating for a repeal, or by electing a new Congress pledged to repeal. But, if a constitutional law is annulled by a court as unconstitutional, the remedy is not so apparent and simple. Must the people acquiesce? Shall they agitate for a change of the court's decision? Shall they insist on an enlargement of the court, in order to "swamp" the judges who have pronounced the undesirable judgment? Shall the judges be impeached, removed and others substituted?

It is difficult to believe that the people took so humble a view of themselves, that they consciously abdicated, for themselves and their successors in all time, and for those of their officers whose appointment they could control, the right to interpret the Constitution, and vested it in a small body of one small profession, appointed for life, giving to this body the power to declare void legislation, though enacted by a unanimous Congress in response to the unanimous demand of the people.

If a President or the Congress may usurp power, so may a court. The President and Congress are responsible to the people. The court is practically responsible to nobody. Conviction on impeachment is very difficult; and, admitting the constitutional right of the court to pronounce acts of Congress void, conviction on impeachment for exercising this power would be iniquitous. The risk of possible and irremediable usurpation by a court is as great as of that by Congress. There is no trace in the work of the Constitution-makers of an intention to make a court a censor of the work of Congress, while furnishing no censor for the acts of the court. Hardly extravagant is the language of President Lincoln, in his first inaugural, that, when we recognize the sole power of the court to define the limits of constitutional executive or legislative action, "the people will have ceased to be their own masters, having to that extent resigned their government into the hands" of the Supreme Court.

Even Hamilton realized the inadmissibleness of the doctrine that the court is the final judge of the boundaries of the respective powers of the Governmental departments, for, in the 49th "Federalist," he announces that encroachments by one department upon another are to be redressed by "an appeal to the people themselves, who, as the grantors of the commission, can alone declare its true meaning, and enforce its observance." But how do the people declare the meaning of the Constitution except through those whom they elect, the President and the Congress? There is no other way by which the people could declare their sense of the true meaning of the existing Constitution.

If legislation were the only evil, the dangers arising from the voiding of laws by a court would be tolerable. Experience, however, shows that most evils spring up apart from government, and that the function which vindicates the existence of government is that of curtailing and repressing them. Making impos-

sible this repression by narrow, sectarian, professionally biased, or class-biased views of the Constitution, applied in the annulment of statutes, is a great and unendurable prejudice to the public weal.

The power authoritatively to interpret the Constitution is virtually the power to make it. Practically, so far as many of the functions of government are concerned, the Constitution is made for us, from time to time, by the nine lawyers who are judges of the Supreme Court. They make it, while, like the Roman haruspices, they think, as do others, that they are only divining the intention of the Numen, the dead men of 1787.

W. TRICKETT.

THE JEWISH HOME.

BY PROFESSOR ABRAM S. ISAACS.

In our rapid-transit age, pious sentiment has lost much of its potency, and cherished traditions that enforced certain vital truths disappear as surely as the trees that once gave beauty and shade to our city streets. We cannot pause by the way for quiet reverie; we dare not rest in our era of competition. The wheels must incessantly turn, the energies be urged ever at breakneck speed. Home, affection, family happiness, the household altar around which cluster such inspiring ideals, all must be imperilled, if not sacrificed, in the mad race for gold, fame, preferment. And the danger threatening that magic isle of safety, the home, can no longer be denied.

Undoubtedly, Jewish ideals suffer, like ideals in general, from the spur and strain of present-day conditions, and much that was for ages regarded as sacred and inviolable in character and custom has vanished in the change of clime and environment. Much, however, is still unaffected, so strong and time-proof are the olden foundations. Unlike the temple of Philæ, with its wondrous associations, which has been gradually submerged with the introduction of modern irrigation methods in Egypt, the Jewish home, with its memories as historic and venerable, continues practically unchanged in spirit, even in our American atmosphere. Its graceful lines are as clear, its inspirations as effective, its basic principles as potent as ever. Now, the American Israelite does not wish to be differentiated from his brother of another creed in all that pertains to citizenship, nor does he desire to be singled out for praise or censure as if he were an anomaly or an anachronism. Yet his home is certainly unique, and he need not be unduly sensitive if he be asked for the secret of that household's charm and vitality. What qualities give it undefinable power?

What formative influences are enshrined under its roof to make it one of the chief factors in the Jew's preservation? What subtle magic, even to-day with so many disintegrating tendencies, invests it with such strength and permanence? In other words, what does the Jewish home stand for?

1. It stands, first, for religion. That element is its basic principle, which enters as much into the home as into the synagogue, and in some respects is more prominent in the household. It associates religion with the daily life of the family and the individual, and blends ideal influences with the domestic atmosphere. On the very threshold, on the door-post of the house, is seen a rectangular piece of parchment, inscribed with two sections from Deuteronomy — a Mosaic command scrupulously observed for thousands of years—which embody the foundation of Jewish belief, the unity of God and the injunction to love Him with heart, soul and might, and to teach that belief to one's children— "and thou shalt write them on the door-post of thy house and on thy gates." With such a symbol ever present, the religious environment is undeniable. The historic festivals are scenes of family reunion. Sabbath eve is welcomed by a special ceremonial—when the Sabbath light is lit, emblem of happiness, and the double loaf of bread adorns the table, to signify the double portion which the Israelites of old were to gather in the wilderness on the sixth day, so as to keep the Sabbath holy. And even if in our keen competitive era a closed Saturday is impossible among the large majority of employees and employers, some distinction is preserved, the women and children attend service, household work is lightened. Each festival has its appropriate greeting, in whose message young and old share. There is blessing after meals, with traditional songs and melodies for all. There is nothing harsh or repressive in such an atmosphere—it spells joyousness, mutual affection, domestic peace. The home is in the shadow of the Almighty, who is no tyrant, but Father, Counsellor, Friend. It is an altar, with the parents as priest and priestess, and the impression is never lost on the children.

2. It stands for the historical consciousness of the Jewish people, being thus a school of knowledge and loyalty. Each prayer and ceremony, each festival and traditional observance, all have a meaning and history which the parent is commanded to make known to the child as the highest duty. These recall the past

with wonderful vividness and become eloquent object-lessons, as scenes of defeat or triumph, of the glory of national independence or the shame of exile are depicted. The race-consciousness is thus early developed and has something ennobling in its call to loyalty and sense of kinship with the leaders who have passed away. From childhood thus the boy and girl learn the story of their people. As they witness the Passover ceremonies, the centuries of serfdom in Egypt—a dim forecast of later serfdom in modern lands like Russia and Roumania—flash before their vision, and how genuine is the feeling of gratitude! As they learn the graceful lessons of Tabernacles, the harvest festival, when, amid thanksgivings for the fruits of the season, they were to remember the lowly huts wherein their ancestors sojourned when emigrants from Egypt, are they not taught humility and the law of modest living? When they light the lights on the feast of Dedication, the era of the Maccabees is brought close to our time, inspiring them to be loyal to their religious duties, whatever the obstacle. Hence the home is both place of worship and of instruction.

3. It stands for the unities of family life—those essential virtues which bless humanity and sanctify the home. Nothing can surpass the affection, the mutual helpfulness, the sentiment of reverence that unify the typical Jewish household. Parents and children vie with each other in intensifying and deepening the atmosphere of love. Under such conditions, happiness can result even if there is an absence of wealth and glitter, and the quiet, gentle life is preferred to social extravagance. The spirit of domestic love which permeates "The Cotter's Saturday Night" unconsciously suggests the Jewish home—the ties that bind parents and children are enduring in childhood and maturity, stretching out through every experience. In the ambitions of their sons and daughters, in their tasks and troubles, the parents show the keenest sympathy, always their patient and kindly advisers, ever spurring them on in their studies and pursuits, and placing before them the loftiest ideals. And, in turn, the child has respect and reverence for the parent, makes rapid progress in school, largely because of parental interest, and develops steadily along helpful lines under the impetus of a cultured home.

Need it be surprising, then, if the Jewish home stands for such vital factors that its influence should be so unmistakably

reflected in the status of the Jew—in his character, aims, acquirements, ideals? If in the past that home was a preservative, nourishing and shielding the most beautiful virtues, and furnishing examples of domestic peace and purity in ages when courts were dissolute and people were given over to coarse amusements and degrading superstitions, is it to be wondered at that its influence proves so salutary in our era? It still has power to preserve from fashionable vices, to insure marriage sanctity, to inculcate habits of self-restraint and self-control. The most formidable of present-day evils are intemperance and divorce, and these have reached proportions that are ominous for the future. Now, there are no statistics as to intemperance among Jews, simply because cases are so infrequent; and it may safely be affirmed that a Jewish drunkard is a rarity, and still rarer any instance where a home has been destroyed by a drunken parent. There is an innate horror of excesses and vicious living—the home example has instilled the lesson of self-control and moderation. Undoubtedly the dietary laws have accustomed the Jew to habits of self-restraint. It must not be imagined, however, that his home atmosphere is one of repression, of gloom, of asceticism; it is just the reverse, and hence there is little danger of swinging to the opposite extreme in later years. As to the divorce evil, here, too, there is a suggestive absence of data for generalization; but instances are exceedingly rare, especially where traditional principles are essentially maintained. No apprehension need be felt, under such safeguards, that the evil can ever gain a firm foothold in representative Jewish circles.

The subject now presents itself as to Christianity's influence on the Jewish home, and as to any recognition of its worth. The thoughtful, intelligent Jewish home cannot but acknowledge elements in the Christian religion and practice which make for human betterment, and which here on American soil have such magnificent expression in agencies that uplift and refine. Of course, this is a matter which, if discussed at too great length, might lead one into the labyrinth of theology and Scriptural interpretation. Without hesitation, the Jew accepts the spirit of the new movement which emphasizes the central unities of all religions, whatever are the points of disagreement that set the creeds apart. He has too long suffered from the narrowness of others to cherish the narrow outlook. He feels the borderland

widening and does his duty, when he consistently can, to bridge over the chasm and soften old-time asperities. The Ghetto was not originally a Jewish creation, but was forced upon the Jew with the gabardine and the yellow badge; and he is held responsible for an exclusiveness that is not inherent in Judaism, for a hateful and bigoted point of view which is to be credited to the persecutor, not to the persecuted. To-day the Jewish home is as open as was Abraham's tent in the legend. There is no uplifted spear at the portal, no hostile air within, but the spirit of the Mosaic command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and of the Hebrew prophet's declaration, "My house shall be a house of prayer for all nations." The broad teachings of the Jewish home, its kindly attitude towards mankind, find eloquent expression, not in mere sentimental phrases, but in the growing tendency of Israelites to bequeath gifts to education and charity, without distinction of creed.

In this analysis of the principles for which the Jewish home stands, there has been no conscious exaggeration. Traits have not been idealized, nor doctrines too broadly interpreted. In fact, a certain restraint has been felt, as if one were reluctant to describe its atmosphere, for it courts no publicity or recognition—a restraint, perhaps, which has often led to a want of requisite emphasis here and there. The genial culture that prevails, the refinement and simplicity which are characteristic, it has been shown, are combined with a notable breadth of view. It is more than a mere dwelling, a place to eat and sleep which is often regarded as a synonym for home—it is school, altar, shrine. Here the child is taught reverence and his elder self-control. Here education is held to be the truest and most permanent form of wealth, and life considered but preparation for higher existence. Here religion is associated with daily conduct and some self-sacrifice is demanded. Here it is constantly taught that all religions which make for goodness are divine and the pious of all creeds are sharers in future bliss. The universal elements in the olden faith are emphasized in the broadening and more helpful tendencies of the time. Certain picturesque elements when the environment was more exclusive may have passed away, but enough survives to make it a permanent factor for good and an object-lesson to the stranger without the gates.

ABRAM S. ISAACS.

DESIGN AS APPLIED TO CITIES.

BY SAMUEL PARSONS AND WILLIAM RUDOLF O'DONOVAN.

THE charm and picturesqueness of most of the older cities is a result of accidents of growth rather than of effort of design. It is the absence of design, considered in the sense of art, that produced effects dear to the artist, the archæologist, and generally stimulating to the imaginative observer. Pleasing as these effects may be to the onlooker of artistic or philosophical temperament, they may involve conditions which are, in many respects, quite unpleasant, inconvenient, and even unbeautiful to the citizen, as well as to the stranger who is more than a passing visitor. The much-regretted mediæval Paris, expunged by Baron Haussmann and Louis Napoleon, with its narrow, malodorous streets, was picturesque; but it was not nearly so beautiful, nor so charming a place to live in, as the more commodious city which was made to take its place. The first requisite of a city, indeed, as of a house, is that it shall be fit to live in, according to prevailing standards, and possess all requisite conditions, first, of health and comfort, and then of luxury and taste. It is the experience of those who have tried it that it is much easier and much less expensive to design and construct a new house answering these requisites, than to make over an old one. It is true that a house that has grown bit by bit to suit the convenience of its occupants from time to time may be made as comfortable, and is often more picturesque, than many a new one creditably designed; but it can scarcely have the beauty possible in a structure planned to fit harmoniously a definite place.

The older cities of the world have, of necessity, grown under diverse circumstances from their beginnings as fortified or walled towns into their present status of great centres of commerce, finance, manufacture, and consequent wealth, power, fashion, and

luxury, learning, art, and they have adjusted themselves to changing purposes through stress of necessity—through accidents of fire, flood, siege, sack, and pest—with less regard for beauty than may be reasonably expected in the future: reasonably expected, because modern discoveries and inventions have made many things practicable which could not be accomplished in earlier times. Walls have gone long ago; and steam and electricity are distributing populations over large areas, with the inevitable consequences of wider streets, parks, private gardens, sunlight, air, which conduce to health, cleanliness and beauty, and should make the city of the near future, of all places, the most desirable for residence. In fact, in this country, vast as it is, the rural population is fast coming to be suburban and urban, with all the advantages of increased means of civilization, enlightenment, good manners, urbanity and taste. Increased, and still increasing, knowledge of sanitation and the public necessity for it are doing away with the baleful sort of picturesqueness sometimes found in slums, the breeding-places of diseases, physical and moral, which inevitably spring from filth and spread contagion throughout a whole community, retarding to a great extent the influence of our multifarious agents of education.

It is said of Nero that, in order to rid the narrow streets of Rome of temples and shrines held inviolable through superstition, and to obviate disputes of experts as to valuations of condemned property, and to avoid interminable lawsuits, he solved these difficulties by having the city set on fire and burned. With us no such benevolent despotism is possible. We must depend for improvement either upon dishonest and grasping public servants, such as was the Tweed ring in New York, or upon more enlightened, honest and faithful officials, such as we may hope to have always with the help of a reasonably active and enlightened public opinion and press. Not even the arbitrary methods which enabled Haussmann, under the Empire, to transform Paris from a noisome mediæval city into the most beautiful and commodious capital of Europe, at a vast expense and in the face of hostile public opinion, would be possible there now, nor in London, nor in an American city. In France, in England and in the United States, power now is with the people, except at such times as through inertia they allow it to slip from them. It is true that, under the Tweed régime and under that of Sheppard in Washington, much was

accomplished for municipal improvement. Out of extraordinary activity of all kinds some good must come, as in cases of fire, pest, war, peculation or other disastrous visitations; but we should use all possible means of meeting the exigencies forced upon us by the quickening power of invention with less violence and waste. Eternal vigilance, it is said, is the price of liberty, and it may be as truly said that it is the price of all else that is of much worth in life.

Experienced men and women of good sense do not expect that the mere employment of the best attainable domestic servants will secure for them the best possible service without some exercise of vigilance on their own part. They must watch as well as pay; and the same applies with equal force to our public servants, who, being fallible, need help, and the spur of public opinion from every citizen. Fortunately, means of bringing such opinion to bear are, in these times of newspapers which find it to their interest to be interested in such matters, vastly increased, but even in this the people may not rest with security, nor delegate their power and prerogatives.

The great city of New York, which has increased within a century from a population of about one hundred thousand to one of over three and a half millions, and from an area of about one square mile to nearly 360, is growing along lines laid down by a Commission in 1807, according to a plan perfunctorily made, without proper regard either to utility or to taste—simply a grid-iron system of streets running from nothing to nothing, with no other purpose than monotonous directness, and necessarily without reference to topographical conditions. The same may be said of Philadelphia, of San Francisco, and indeed of almost all our cities.

Now, by such a method nothing is gained in point of utility, and certainly everything is lost in point of beauty. Obviously, neither utility nor economy is served by cutting a street straight through a hill when it might better, in all respects, be made to go round and up the hill, but that is done in New York as well as in other cities.

It was thought by the Commission which laid out New York a century ago that provision for public parks was needless, because on either side of the island were two great rivers which would afford ample breathing-space, and it has been through the utmost effort of campaigns of education, strenuously waged by an en-

lightened minority against short-sighted citizens and officials, that the now fine, but still inadequate, system of public parks in that city has been attained. The fact that public parks in all cities have proved astonishingly profitable investments has widened by so much the scope of the practical man's vision, the belief is thus encouraged that after a while he may be able to see the value of beauty as a money investment. In time, possibly in a short time, the utilitarian who serves not wisely but too well the useful purpose of a check upon æsthetic improvements, may be brought to a recognition of the fact that if, in structural things, usefulness falls short of beauty, the full value of the money expended upon them is not obtained.

There is, of course, in straight streets a certain element of use or convenience; but where straight streets are so made as to lead up to, or from, points of interest, as in the case of the avenues radiating from the Capitol at Washington, or from the Great Arch at Paris, the pleasure of their use is enhanced by the interest and beauty which they create and conserve.

That curved streets, even where they are not necessitated by the character of the ground, have a certain graceful dignity of their own, is illustrated by Regent Street, which forms one of the most pleasing parts of London.

The fact is that the underlying principle of structural beauty in the ground-plan of a city must rest in utility. That is to say, the streets must be so ordered that they shall lead up to a centre consisting of a public building, a railway station, a market, a bridge entrance, a park, an opera-house, or any point that may serve as the end of a vista. The root of it all is as old as the primitive town, or *tun,* of the progenitors of the English people in their German birthplace. Dwellings were built around a tree or a hill which was used as the town meeting-place, the whole being surrounded by a common or neutral ground and ditch, which was to become later the wall, and, when that was razed, the boulevard, as in Paris, in Vienna, and other old towns of Europe, forming now such pleasing features of interest, convenience and beauty.

The foregoing will indicate what is desirable, in a general way, in the ground-plan of a city—that is to say, the simple element of design which forms centres, with streets radiating from them, and fits them in all cases to irregularities of the ground. By these

means that variety which comes of fitness is invited on the part of the architect who has now little enough of inspiration, and finds it difficult to be rid of monotony where there is nothing but interminable straight streets, with few places from which a building may be seen from a distance.

In the circumstances invention is taxed to the utmost, and the impulse to be rid of the shackles of uniformity too often leads to the introduction of an architectural type from somewhere else into a place it does not fit.

We hear a great deal about the lack of a truly American art, and ways of arriving at it are constantly being devised and urged by more or less ingenious writers, and by societies for the promotion of art. As a matter of fact, if any art expression is serious and right, it is all that is desirable; if in all cases it is individual, it must in the aggregate be American, English or French, as the case may be. While any individual work of art should be considered as an entity, it must be conceded that the aggregation of streets and houses which make a city is of the greatest charm when it suggests or expresses the character of the people who have made it and live in it.

Having thus generally indicated the principles which should be applied to the further growth and extension of cities to adjust them to the quick and quickening means of movement, the means of having them applied are next to be thought of.

In New York there is a Municipal Art Commission, composed of representatives of the arts of Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, two lay members and presidents of two institutions of art, together with the Mayor *ex-officio*. For each place on this Commission three names are presented to the Mayor by ten Federated Art Societies, which embrace in their membership almost every architect, painter and sculptor of note in the United States. The powers of this Commission are restricted to veto. That is to say, it must pass upon all designs for public works in architecture, painting and sculpture. The power of refusing sites, within its jurisdiction, for statues or memorials rests with the Landscape Architect of the Department of Public Parks. In addition to this, the present Mayor of New York has created the New York City Improvement Commission, embracing representatives of Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Landscape Architecture, Engineering, Transportation, Finance, Sanitation and Municipal Govern-

ment. This Commission has merely an advisory function, without power of any kind save what may be given it as a court of first instance by public opinion.

With these means at hand, it would seem that New York may be in a fair way to cure some of the bad features of the plan of 1807, which applies to the whole of Manhattan Island, and is repeated in the added boroughs of the Greater New York, and thus impress upon other cities and towns a valuable object-lesson.

Possibly the more valuable and practical object-lessons may be worked out and illustrated in the smaller cities, which are less unwieldy and have a distinctively local pride. Indeed, in many of them—such as Chicago, Boston, Buffalo and Cleveland—much has already been done which the great metropolis may emulate to advantage. It may be considered one of the happiest auguries for the future of America that its metropolis has not a monopoly of taste, enterprise and invention, and that the metropolis is not above taking advantage of suggestions afforded by what is being done in lesser towns. Above and beyond all, hope of improvement rests in means of rapid movement, which of itself primarily impels improvement in much of all that makes life, for all people, of all conditions and kinds, comfortable, desirable and refining. Those who are more particularly interested in art by reason of professional work should make every possible effort to impress upon the public in general the fact that it is economy, and the conservation of means, to carry public utilities along into the uses of beauty, and that to fall short of this is sheer waste of means. There is no reason why the extensions of towns now being forced by rapid transit should not be along streets ordered with reference to the natural features of the ground; why they should not be made sightly in the character of their houses, as well as sanitary and comfortable; why parks should not be provided, street trees planted and properly cared for, as well as private gardens, large or small, as the case may be. That these things should be effected by comprehensively and artistically devised plans, to be made as soon as practicable, is of the utmost importance, as will be admitted when it is recalled that no end of depressing ugliness and incalculable expense has resulted in the past from lack of such enlightened forethought when means of expansion were but a fraction of what they are now. In no period in the development of the race has the most unimaginative utilitarian objected

to beauty in anything when it could be demonstrated to be entirely practicable, without additional expense. Now that experience has proved, for example, that public parks are a paying investment, the hard-headed part of all communities will not oppose the investment of a thousand dollars for land for a park, which would inevitably cost ten times as much after the region has been built up. A well-ordered structural house costs no more than a badly devised and ugly one. In fact, if one but looks around in any urban or suburban district one may find many houses that have been made quite unsightly in a laboriously expensive way, doubtless in most cases at the instance of the owner rather than of the designer. If in a certain district the fashion is set by a house planned in good taste, that fashion is more than likely to be followed until it is the prevailing mode, and the value of property in that neighborhood becomes thereby greatly enhanced. Now, when people living thirty miles away from their business are about as near it, so far as time is concerned, as they were a few years ago when five miles away, there is no economy in crowding them into narrow and ill-ventilated streets, and it is obviously to the interest of property-owners to insist that their values shall not be depressed because somebody, a dozen or a hundred years ago, devised a plan that officials are not willing to change.

That the proper ordering of streets in places not built up is, next to rapid transit itself, the most pressing need in present urban conditions cannot be questioned, and the fact that such ordering is to the present and future interest of every one concerned—and every one is concerned—should be kept in view, or much of the benefit of rapid transit will for the present be lost.

Of experienced, trained and even imaginative, creative, architects, we have many; and the number and efficiency of such may be confidently expected to increase in the ratio of demand for their services. The same may be said of landscape architects, to whom the designing of ground-plans of cities and public and private parks must be entrusted. Notable and beautiful as has been the work of Olmsted and Vaux in the parks of New York, of Boston, of Chicago and other cities, theirs is still with us, as elsewhere, an art in its beginnings, which may find fuller, more dignified and graceful expression as need of it is better apprehended.

SAMUEL PARSONS.

WILLIAM RUDOLF O'DONOVAN.

THE PASSING OF A PROPHET.

A True Narrative of Death and Life.

BY CHARLOTTE OSGOOD MASON.

I.

Throughout the centuries of human growth death has been as a nightmare to the heart of man—a king of terrors, crowned with fear and panoplied with grief. No race or soul might evade this king's dominion; none but must feel his influence and power. There have been sturdy folk who mocked him outwardly; there have been those in whom the very fear of him bred a superb and vaunting courage; there have been those who called on Faith to help them—invoking her mystic powers against his own; but all alike have felt his influence and have paid tribute to him.

Those pagan cults whose strength was rooted in the primeval element of sex dealt in the mysteries of procreation and of birth, striving thereby to solve the riddle or to break the spell of death. The accentuation of the sex idea, which was the badge of early Semitic thought, and probably characterized originally the thought of all nature-peoples, while it served as a stupendous factor in their evolution, served, when uncorrected by other elements, as an equally stupendous factor in their decay. Not even the fearless, joyous Greek emerged unpolluted from its influence. The nature-gods of the Orient, passionately adored for their fertility, were no less passionately mourned when their fertility was past. The grape was crushed in the wine-press; the god of life had shed his blood for his votaries: let the world lament. Moreover, the accentuation upon sex developed as its correlative the sense of possession, and in both its human and material phases no other passion breeds so tempestuous a fear of death. These waste elements in the sex ideal, elements which

have done their work and are now a menace to healthfulness and life, our civilization still blindly propagates.

With relation to the problem of mortality, Christianity as an Institution, in its various forms of asceticism, has annihilated the fear of death by annihilating equally the claims of life. In the same particular, Christianity as an Emotion has largely concentrated itself in poignant grief and ecstasy upon the figure of the suffering Christ dead upon the cross. Christianity as a Life did neither of these things.

To-day there is a reaction against the dead weights of the past. Man is exacting from the Universe his freedom in this world and in the unknown world to come. And between the two worlds the bridge is death.

With the aid of truer concepts of history, of ethics, of religion, we are beginning to see that the bridge, once shrouded in darkness and sentinelled with terror, may be a bridge of light, a rainbow over which humanity may pass to its Walhalla.

Even the physical sciences are teaching us this hope. Chemistry calls death but a translation of life occurring within the realm of chemical reactions, which reactions underlie the progressive alterations of the body during life. Death, then, goes with us in all the processes of being, from birth to the end of the body's existence. This is no strange and terrible conqueror, exacting sudden tribute, but an ally upon whom we have unconsciously depended for wise counsels and support. Biology delves into the ocean of primeval being and brings forth a pearl. Death, we are told, is not coincident with the first appearance of life. The simple cell lives on indefinitely by the mere division of itself into two perfect entities, but when nature in her wisdom discarded fission as a means of reproduction, and introduced the rudimentary forms of sex life which were destined to evolve the subtle physical and psychic organisms of man and woman, there entered into the universe the possibility of death. With the specialization of cells and their functions came also the interdependence of one cell or individual upon another cell or individual, and the consequent possibility of inhibition, gradual decline and death. In the evolution of species the appearance of death for the individual is thus linked with the possibilities of highest life for the whole. In the spiritual world of men and women the experience becomes conscious and beautiful in

proportion as the outlook of the individual is one of unselfish, joyous abandonment to the possibilities of greatest growth.

We are come within sight of a truth that shall uplift us, but to few of us as yet has it been given to live and die in accordance with the laws of truth. For the most part we still postpone the thought of death, harboring secretly the ancient terror, and perpetuating the ancient tribal symbols of lamentation and despair.

It would seem better that we should teach ourselves and our children to recognize the relation of death to the world of life.

Were we, for instance, to teach our child that Selfishness and Death must meet in battle; that the triumph of Death would mean victory for all the Father and Mother love in their child; that the triumph of Self would bring disaster and grief: that child would link death with the thought of conquering, and the very word would be robbed of the associations that make it terrible. We can only uproot the old idea of death by recognizing as death some of the elements we know to be most beautiful and beneficent in life. Thus we shall find the relation of things one to another. Those intense desires to achieve or possess that once filled us: of what significance are they to us later on? The passion becomes a dead thing; it falls away from our life; what once we longed for we would on no account possess. We ourselves live still, with finer ambitions, perhaps, and better purposes, and the desire has fulfilled its end. If we can but free ourselves from the controlling influence of passions that centre in our personal mechanism, intellectual or physical, we shall no longer fear that the passing of that mechanism will bring extinction to life itself. Such freedom makes us conquerors with God in our life and death experiences, and makes the death of the body a triumphant expression of the soul's supremacy.

Again, death and failure are of one blood—children of the same parent thought. Yet each exists that something finer may be born in us of our grief. A complete failure in the eyes of the world is often a glowing success in the universe of God; and, even if the failure be in the essentials of life, it will have vibrations powerful enough to sweep the experience into the realm of victory if the soul so wills. The force that produces the failure is ours to distribute into other channels. Such victories mean the death of the ignoble; they are victories wholly of the

spirit, and until manifested in the flesh, in a man's face or in his deeds, we of the world still treat the soul as if it had not been reborn.

Thus each day, in the growth of character, death may be the vanquisher of corruption, and an ally of life. Then let every attribute of our being depart if those attributes remain at the expense of our divine harmony with God. It is those of us in whom such changes never take place who truly suffer death. Mere existence is the deadliest foe to life. The people who merely exist live in a nether world, where the divine light does not penetrate. They have no power over inherited tendencies; devils and disease possess them, and only through suffering, the great revealer of failure, do they live vitally at last. There must be death and annihilation in some attributes of being before man can live to the highest.

No one can work out his ideal of himself without a real and healthy understanding of the place of death in the world. For the ideal of each one of us should include some conception of his own rebirth into the spheres—the rebirth of a soul, with little thought of sex. To think of the life here as a period of gestation—a formative, experimental phase—to think of each day as an opportunity to recreate our conception of ourselves, and to work out this ideal creation of our spirit, this should mean that we command, in a measure, at least, the forces of matter and of spirit, and that we are filled with beauty and radiate wisdom and love. Such preparation for the rebirth into a larger life should be the conscious and joyous accompaniment of our existence—a part of our effort to view life and death "under the aspect of eternity." Such preparation would give us freedom from the mastery of desire. We should be reborn free, pure, without inherited tendencies from the past to be overcome in the unknown future. We shall learn in time to have equal reverence for birth and for death, and to prepare for both with holy and uplifting offices of true spiritual purification. To a life so ordered the moment of physical death could never come as a tragic interruption. When the hour of rebirth approaches, the soul intelligently breaks its bonds; quietly and consciously it severs the cord that binds it to the womb of the Earth-Mother, and goes forth into the spheres!

If there is to be majesty, if there is to be peace in the great

hour of birth, through death into life, the one who goes forth and those who remain must alike come into harmony with God. No intermediary gods can help us here. In the hours of greatest need it is not our friends, even the dearest, who are able to suspend or prevent the fate that tears us. Intermediary gods are for the quiet seas of life, not for the tempest and thunder-storms of the soul. When the shattering is past, our spirit must glow with the revelation of God's own majesty that is like the unfolding of the radiant heavens in the sunset hour when the storm is done. Little comfort may come to us from without save as we are at peace with the Master of Souls. Unless we have harmonized ourselves to His law, all else we may meet is dissonance which hurts and from which we flee.

Where there is harmony, where there is peace with God and His laws, there are many symbols whereby that harmony and peace may be made to speak to others, and it is for us to see to it that the freed spirit be not misrepresented by the rites and customs made easy—yet in truth how difficult—by habit and convention.

If we pour out our tears in grief they will dim the light of God that should shine from us now as at no other time. Grief may not dominate us: we must give freely to Wisdom the patience and moderation that Time will exact. We must do our own conquering. Let us bear aloft the Winged Victory and not entrust the conquest of our grief to Time. For us this is the hour of leadership. Is the one reborn into the Universe? We would be reborn upon the earth, and if the union of souls has been intimate and near, be assured that each in some holy and mysterious way knows the condition of the other and gives heed. It is to those who overcome that God gives consciousness of the powers of life and death.

II.

The plant that has rested under the warm mantle of purity throughout the winter bears the most perfect and fragrant flowers in the spring. So he, in that last winter, before the releasing springtime, folded about himself a mantle of purity and faithful trust such as only those may wear who, living in the divine attributes of their being, are yet strong to go on with the material life.

The hearth of the home was cold. Strong winds had threatened its fires, and the embers gave forth neither warmth nor light.

Yet was the daily round of duties done with energy unflagging. The woman companion on that highway Godward sought constantly for some quiet temple in the woods where the altar of the home might be set up and its fires rekindled. She dreamed that she should find and bestow upon the man at last the rest that no prophet of God has yet been granted in this world. But the winter snows spoke to her of the beautiful life of which they were the guardians, and never had the prophecy of spring so stirred in her mother-heart as now. Life must come from a silence so profound, a dedication so deep and pure! Yes, the home that she saw before her gaze held rest and peace and glory for the enfolding of that faithful one for whom she planned and labored. If inward voices whispered that the rest, the peace and glory were to be not of this world, she silenced them and would not hear. God sent His own voice, mighty and compelling, across the wilderness, but to her it seemed the trumpet-call to her own faith and courage. The dove of Hope spoke to her heart, and from the topmost branches of the forest poured the first bird-notes of spring. All life sang a song of faithful love to God and man. But the dear one bent a little lower and hurried to complete his task.

It needed but the touch of the divine finger for the miracle of spring to be wrought out. Already the atmosphere was charged with the divine life and love. To those who listened for the inner voice God revealed His presence and His purposes.

The wooded country yielded no temple for the resurrection of the home; the woman found a ruin at the end of every pathway that led to what had seemed a homestead in the vision of her hope. Only then did she stop and wait upon that divine inner voice, the voice that had been sounding in her ears since the sap had begun to rise in the trees.

As the unborn babe stirs with the prophecy of fuller life, so his spirit that was to be born into a life beyond stirred and made ready to be gone. While all life-forms renewed themselves he wandered into the solitary vales of his own being, there to find in some gentle resting-place within the forest the spring that would refresh his spirit. There he loosened the garments of earth: there, beneath the guiding hand of Death, he fashioned his garment of transfiguration.

Throughout his life he had tasted the bitter with the sweet.

For he was born under the Christ-Star in his mother's heart, and in her gentle faith the Christ triumphant meant Christ crucified. The vision of the conqueror triumphant in the world of men, because he triumphed in the world of spirit, had not yet dawned for her, and for her son it dawned not as a reality, but as a well-loved dream. The treasures of the earth that he had earned and would have blessed were sometimes seized by other men beneath whose touch the treasure turned to vanity. Yet, with the bitter, he had known the sweet, and he had grown consciously through each experience. He loved all forms of beauty; none was obscured to him: the beauty of the pure bodily joys of healthy manhood; the beauty of nature; the beauty of pure science, of religion, of companionship, of service. All the arts nourished him,—music he heard in all things, and if he could not find the divine harmony sounding in the souls of those who walked with him or passed him he was grieved. In all the forms of life and beauty that sustained him he saw God and worshipped. Yet to the temples reared by man he seldom went. His mission was to heal the sick—the sufferers in body, mind and spirit. He conceived that the loving soul of man could reach out and give aid to its fellows in ways of which a materialistic science takes no heed. It was his triumph that he stood squarely for this truth, reaching thus beyond the prescribed limits of his profession, yet retaining always the respect and faith of those who could not see as yet the path to which he pointed. In his work of healing he was a pioneer and a follower of Christ.

When to this man came the signal to prepare for the final hours of travail through the mystery of rebirth into fuller life—when the message of the spirit came to him, as it ever comes, in majesty and silence—he was ready to obey. In his soul reigned the beauty of holiness.

III.

The woman and the child stood enfolded in unseen warmth and strength. The consciousness of his presence was like the recognition of another sense. It brought a peace that was almost visible radiance. Together they watched the passing of the spirit: together they looked upon the quiet form relaxed and tender as a child's body. Even the habitation bespoke the purity of the life. The soul had not desecrated its beautiful home. Peace and Majesty rested upon the brow; Strength and Love

stood sentinels on either side of the fine mouth. It had weathered many storms, that well-tried home of three-and-seventy years; It had proved itself worthy of all honor and tenderness; yet had the soul flung wide the doors to the miracle of spring and had gone forth.

The loved ones who remained, standing there in the full sunlight of God's truth, were born into a larger consciousness. Never again would death be to them aught but one of the processes of the soul's life. No mere words could now convey between their souls and his the recognition and experiences of which each one was conscious. Yet the recognition held; the consciousness of an immortal love brooded above them all. The living looked still upon God's work; they knew that the creation was good, and that they might trust God and wait for the fuller revelation.

In the days that followed that strange hushed sense of recognition never failed. The room in which he had done his work, where lay the beautiful form that had contained his spirit, became the centre of the quiet life that still moved on. As he had always shared and led in all the great moments of the family life so now he led and shared. The letters were written at his desk and by his side, while the sunshine and sweet air that he had loved filled all the cheerful room. Friends came and were welcomed there. Only joy and beauty reigned in that sanctuary. It was the abode of holiness and peace—the peace that is born when life is lived in the consciousness of God. Terror and fear never entered in. The passion of rebellious grief found nothing upon which to feed. So quiet and so mighty had been his victory that sorrow lay at peace in the hearts of his loved ones. Few came into that Presence who were not caught up into the recognition of God's majesty. The others, if there were such, passed like shadows to whom it was given neither to see nor to be seen.

All these days the pure white draperies hung lightly about the resting form. The serene and noble face lay upturned to the light. So it was on the day of the last solemn fête. The same white draperies enfolded him; tall roses leaned against his couch, like the little children who used to crowd about his knee while he unfolded to them, with help of microscope or flower, the tender mysteries of God's world. A great branch from an apple-tree bloomed gloriously above his head, and everywhere were flowers.

There were no signs of mourning, for this was the festival of his rebirth, the festival of spring. The woman and the child greeted with radiant faces the friends who came. From the simple service, whatever did not declare the beauty of holiness and the love of God was carved away. The finite world pronounced with awe and reverence God's benediction over the habitation of that spirit that had passed into the infinite. Then the wonderful temple for the worship of God was restored to the elemental world. No long and terrible stage of material decay had part in that release. Consciously and lovingly the temple was given over to the most purifying of nature's elements. Because man's will was in accord with nature's own, nature did quickly and generously what in the end she must have done—but grudgingly and slowly.

IV.

Later, by some days, the woman received into her arms a precious burden. She bore it through the highways thronged with unknown men and women who were all unconscious of what it was she carried. She even stopped for a moment and shared in their activities. But all the while her whole being was filled with a surging tenderness, and with a sweeping sense of the power that is vested in us either to glorify or desecrate the experiences of life and death. She carried the burden out to that wooded country where she had hoped to found again the home.

While the summer was yet young the woman, again carrying the sacred burden, led three pilgrims up the steep leaf-covered pathway of a quiet wooded hill. Upon the western slope the woods gave way before an open field, and at the margin grew a straight young oak tree. From the hillside one beheld a vision of God's world, sun-bathed and beautiful, stretching away, it seemed, into the infinite.

Close to the oak tree the pilgrims halted, and there with reverent, unhurried fingers the woman and the child uncovered to the light the precious contents of the jar. There had been an instant of uncertainty and wonder—a wonder that knew not fear, because the past had barred fear quite away; but the heart had questioned silently, and had prepared itself to suffer. Dear God! There was no need. Within the shrine was only beauty, the same merciful and tender beauty that had healed and comforted at every turn. These fair white fragments touched with the

opalescent colors of the world were but the broken shells of human existence washed up by the great ocean of Eternity and Life. As she gazed upon them the woman thought that she looked down into the mysteries of earth's creative life, and saw how nature had given of her richest treasures to the building of a man.

And the woman spoke:

"Thou material form that we found beautiful living among us, we find thee beautiful still. Here we are gathered to give back to Mother-Earth all that she gave: all that is material we here give back to-day." The woman raised her head with the radiance of an inspired love upon her, and she spoke to the spirit that had passed: "If in thine own wisdom and knowledge of the processes of life—if, in the greater development, the fuller harmony with highest truth that now has come to thee, thou knowest a way to send the vision of that truth across the horizon of the waiting, seeking world—send it. To nature we give back the earthly form.

"Here are the oak trees that thou didst love so well; here are the wild roses and the song of birds; yonder the mountains and the horizon where the sunlight blends our world with that which is unseen. Here thy great spirit could have aspired. Here do I give back this fragmentary form to the great nature that thou didst love."

She stopped beneath the oak tree, and, with filled hands, reverently and tenderly she strewed the fragments at the oak tree's base. The other pilgrims followed in her lead.

The woman turned to them with shining face:

"We have given the material form itself to the oak tree—each of us. Now let us scatter all that is left to the winds—yes, let us give it to all the world, even as he sought in life to strew his strength and goodness wide over all. From everything in life there is an overflow, an effulgence that reaches into space. And as the spirit radiates, so radiates also the material form. We have given all that had shape to this sacred spot beneath the oak tree; now let the overflow reach all the world." She lifted both full hands. "Come, let us go together to the edge of the hill; we will sow it like grain," she said.

"United we give these ashes out upon the winds. May all those who loved him be with us now in spirit: may they, too,

share in the gift of this to all the world. When they are come to the invisible gateway, may they, too, pass through in majesty and peace.

"And now, O Thou Infinite Spirit, fill us with that divine strength which unites us with Infinite Life, and with all its manifestations helpful to others and to ourselves wherever that Life is. Help us to live so in touch with the Eternal and Infinite that we may give out all that we see of truth,—broadly, truthfully and tenderly. This was his aspiration, this is for what he lived. And so we in this hour dedicate ourselves to Truth."

The woman bowed her head and silently withdrew with backward steps, her face still turned to the horizon.

Such is the message of Death and the Rebirth.

CHARLOTTE OSGOOD MASON.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY CLAYTON HAMILTON AND CAROLYN SHIPMAN.

"SAPPHO AND PHAON."*

CONSIDERED as a poem to be read, Mr. Percy Mackaye's "Sappho and Phaon" surpasses all his earlier productions. Considered as a play to be acted, it does not pass beyond their ineffectiveness. In this age of specialization, it is, perhaps, presumptuous to expect a man to be at once a poet and a dramatist. The art of literature and the art of the theatre were wedded in the spacious times of great Elizabeth; but conditions have changed since then, in the playhouse and out of it; the two arts have grown divorced; and not even in the work of Mr. Stephen Phillips have they been completely reconciled. In all of his work thus far, Mr. Mackaye has shown talent as a poet and lack of talent as a playwright. He seems to sense his themes as narrative, instead of drama; and he writes in closet-verse, instead of theatre-verse. Even "Jeanne D'Arc," which evoked considerable commendation when performed by Miss Marlowe and Mr. Sothern, was a transitory panorama of narrative and lyric episodes; instead of a firmly builded play, marching through a clash of character on character to a culmination and a consequent catastrophe. Mr. Mackaye will never be an effective dramatist unless he learns to appeal to the mind of the multitude instead of the mind of the individual; unless he learns to care more for his people than for his poetry; unless he learns to write for the sake of his scene rather than for the sake of his writing; and unless he learns to build for the spectator instead of for the reader.

The greatest fault of "Sappho and Phaon" as a play to be

* "Sappho and Phaon." A Tragedy. By Percy Mackaye. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1907.

acted is its greatest merit as a poem to be read. This merit or this fault (according to the point of view) is elaborateness—elaborateness both of structure and of style. The tragedy is set forth in a prologue, an induction, a prelude, three acts, two interludes and an epilogue; and it is written in prose, trimeter, tetrameter, pentameter, hexameter, and the Sapphic stanza. One trembles for the producer who will undertake to set and for the actors who will undertake to speak the lines of such a play. But verdict on the piece as a theatrical production must be reserved until the curtain rises in the fall; and henceforth in the present paper I shall consider it merely as a work of literature, and call attention chiefly to its merits, not its faults.

The elaborateness of the author's mechanism is occasioned by the historical imagination with which he approaches the main business of his story. At some future time, an American archæologist named Medbery is engaged in the excavation of an ancient private theatre in Herculaneum. In the players' quarters he discovers a make-up box and certain stage properties which were used in B.C. 25 by the actor Actius and the mime Nævoleia in a special performance of a tragedy by a Roman poet, Varius; and he discovers also the manuscript of the play. Dreamfully then the scene, without changing its place, shifts its time backward through the centuries to a moment just before that special performance, when Varius brings his poet-friends Horace and Virgil to a colloquy with Actius. Then follows the production of Varius's tragedy, "Sappho and Phaon," with pantomimic interludes between the acts; and when at last the tragedy is melting to a close, the scene reverts again to the future, with Medbery musing over the deep discovery of the subterranean world.

In this novel and imaginative way, Mr. Mackaye furnishes his ancient-seeming tragedy with a reason for existence. With Medbery's enthusiasm the reader delves among antiquities until he finds himself spectator of the play; and thus by easy stages he makes his journey to the old Ionian isles. It must be admitted, however, that the induction seems designed for no more dramatic purpose than merely to introduce the personalities of Horace and Virgil. Yet, both are admirably sketched — Horace, with his small talk about "the ample voluptuous scallop" and "the lush, lascivious oyster," and Virgil, with his bucolic calm,—

"I think the view
Behind your villa, Varius,
Is beautiful: Vesuvius
Raising its quiet dome of green
Above us in the blue; below us
The red roofs of Pompeii, and
The sea—a blazing shield."

But Actius's defence of the player's calling, which is introduced gratuitously into the scene, seems to me inferior to others in our elder literature,—that, for example, which Thomas Heywood prefixed to his "Apology for Actors" in 1612.

Although the reader moves with interest through the intricate inductive labyrinth, it is hard for him to feel, when the tragedy is finally disclosed, that it is (as he is asked to suppose) the work of a Roman poet. For the play is modern in thought, in method and in style. In tone, it is romantic and not classic. It is Greek only in the purity of its artistic purpose, in the passionate simplicity of certain passages, and in its occasional employment of rhythms out of the Anthology. It observes the unities of action, time and place; but it is constructed without a chorus, and its nemesis is not fatality (the classic motive for tragedy), but attitude of character toward life (the modern motive).

Sappho, the poetess of Lesbos, is beloved by Pittacus, the tyrant of Mitylene, and Alcæus, the lyric poet. She is cold to both of them; for she loves Phaon, a public slave and fisherman. Phaon is married to Thalassa, a slave woman, by whom he has two children. We may suppose that he is beautiful of body; but he shows neither beauty nor ability of mind, until Sappho influences him and he mirrors the fire of her own poetic passion. With her he flees from the habitable world; but the inertia of the commonplace commands him to return. His younger child has died of neglect; and now in the dark he mistakes his elder child for Alcæus, and slays him. Thus bereft, he trembles from his eminence of passion, and returns to Thalassa. Sappho hurls herself into the sea.

It will be seen that the leading motive of this story is the conflict, within Sappho's bosom, between liberty of passion and the restraint of social law. This is a modern motive. Glorious at first in the ecstasy of individual emotion, she cries of "the teeming, terrible maternal sea,"—

"I will be free of her!
Her ways are birth, fecundity, and death,
But mine are beauty and immortal love.
Therefore I will be tyrant of myself—
Mine own law will I be! And I will make
Creatures of mind and melody, whose forms
Are wrought of loveliness without decay,
And wild desire without satiety,
And joy and aspiration without death."

But tamed at last by drear experience of actuality, she prays to Poseidon,—

"God of the generations, pain and death,
I bow to thee.—Not for love's sake is love's
Fierce happiness, but for the after-race."

(A New England commonplace which the imagined Roman Varius would not have written.)

"Yet, thou eternal Watcher of the tides,
Knowing their passions, tell me! Why must we
Rapturous beings of the spray and storm
That, chanting, beat our hearts against thy shores
Of aspiration—ebb? ebb and return
Into the songless deep? Are we no more
Than foam upon thy garment?—flying spume
Caught on thy trident's horn, to flash the sun
An instant—and expire? Are we no more?"

But, although the play is modern both in thought and in method, it is in spirit synchronous with antiquity. And it is without surprise that the reader comes upon such echoes of the actual ancient Sappho, as this lovely fragment,—

"Soon shall the moon on the waters
Sleep, and the Pleiades; midnight
Come and the darkness be empty,
I in the silence—be waiting:—"

or as this ultimate Sapphic stanza,—

"Beautiful Sister, goddess of desire,
Come to me! Clasp me in your wings of sunrise
Burning, for see! I go forth to you burning
Still.—Aphrodite!"

There is noble poetry in these passages, and in many others. At times the verse is too carefully patterned, both in rhythm and in literation; it calls attention too flauntingly to its author's verbal talent. But oftener it is simple, sensuous, impassioned. And the mood of the whole poem is richly imaginative.

As I suggested at the outset, I doubt that "Sappho and Phaon" will prove of interest to the average audience when it is presented on the boards by Mr. Fiske, with Mme. Kalich in the leading rôle. But in its present aspect as a poem to be read, it is very worthy work. Seekers for an evening of loveliness will do well to muse upon it, quietly.

CLAYTON HAMILTON.

WILLIAM JAMES'S "PRAGMATISM."*

ACCORDING to their individual temperaments, philosophers are broadly divided into rationalists and empiricists, the "tender-minded" and the "tough-minded," to use Professor James's distinction. The rationalists are believers in abstract and eternal principles; they are intellectualistic, idealistic, optimistic, religious, free-willist, monistic, dogmatical. The empiricists are lovers of facts, sensationalistic, materialistic, pessimistic, irreligious, fatalistic, pluralistic, sceptical.

These distinctions appear to be so radical as to array the followers of the two systems of thought irrevocably against each other. Yet they can be reconciled, and it is pragmatism that is the mediator.

What is pragmatism, and what is its value to philosophy?

Briefly, it is (1) a method whose essence is action, (2) a genetic theory of what is meant by truth. It represents the empiricist attitude, which turns its back on fixed habits, abstractions, verbal solutions and finality in truth, and faces towards facts, concreteness, action, possibilities of nature and power. It has no dogmas; it does not stand for special results, because by the very connotation of the term, absolute, final results are impossible. Empiricism presupposes endless experiment and progress, the conclusions of one generation of thinkers giving way to other and better deductions based upon new facts,—not the

* "Pragmatism. A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking." Popular Lectures on Philosophy. By William James. Longmans, Green & Co.

closed circle of the rationalistic philosopher, whose world is immutable, and without relation to individual minds and their efforts.

Pragmatism maintains cordial relations with positive religious constructions as well as with facts. It is a *via media* capable of satisfying the demands both of religion and of science. Its temper is diplomatic; listening, observing, weighing, concluding, with mind set towards the future, and always open to conviction, ever ready for fresh truths founded on old ones; "an attitude of orientation . . . looking away from first things, principles, 'categories,' supposed necessities, and looking towards last things, fruits, consequences, facts." It is a method of interpretation of metaphysical questions by tracing practical consequences.

Its ever-recurring question is, What *difference* does this or that belief make? What is the *concrete consequence,* the "cash value," as Professor James puts it?

The Italian pragmatist, Papini, describes it as lying in the midst of our theories, like a hotel corridor. In one room is an atheist writing; in another, a mystic praying; in a third, a chemist experimenting; in a fourth, an idealistic metaphysician expounding his theories; in a fifth, another philosopher refuting the metaphysician's arguments. But they all share the corridor, and must use it to communicate with one another.

The method is not new. It was used by Socrates, Aristotle, Locke, Berkeley and Hume, but fragmentarily. Schiller, the Oxford exponent of the theory, calls it Humanism,—the doctrine that the world is plastic; "it *is* what is made of it," and therefore our truths are "man-made products," like law and language. They *make themselves* as we go.

Such bold statements are bound to antagonize the rationalist, whose nature it is to rise in revolt against anything that disturbs the old order of things. The purely rationalistic type of mind cannot admit new ideas. To him reality is ready-made, and he accepts it, without a murmur, as he finds it. To him the words "God," "Matter," "Reason," "the Absolute," are names upon which he can rest. To the pragmatist, a word is merely "a programme for more work," with a practical "cash value" if it is worth anything. To him, theories are merely instruments, not answers to enigmas.

Just as the orthodox Christian turns with most interest to that

chapter in the Unitarian belief which treats of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, so the rationalist studies with searching, and often scornful eye, the pragmatic conception of certain metaphysical problems, *e. g.,* Substance, God, Design, Free Will.

The scholastic notion of Substance is a something behind the attributes of an object in which they inhere, and through which the Substance is made known to us. The pragmatic idea of Substance is precisely Berkeley's: the sensations of matter, *e. g.,* color, form, hardness, etc., are its sole meaning for us. We need not concern ourselves with the vague "something" behind those sensations. The presence of matter means those sensations; its absence, the lack of them.

The only instance in which the Substance *per se* has any pragmatic application is the Eucharist, granting "the real presence." Since the attributes of the wafer do not change, the divine substance must be miraculously substituted for the bread substance.

Transcendental idealism postulates an absolute, a mind which creates a universe by thinking it, and which embraces all things in itself—evil and good, finite and infinite, each of the pair necessary to the existence of the other. The God of traditional theism is an exalted monarch who lives on as high a plane of abstraction as the other.

Professor James criticises both of these "majestic conceptions" on the ground that they have no relation to concrete experience and are too remote from this world of sordid conditions. A belief in the presence of the Everlasting Arms, he says, furnishes comfort to a most respectable class of minds, but "it substitutes a pallid outline for the real world's richness."

To a student of Spencer's "First Principles," who has sat outside the door of that philosopher's unknowable, trying with strained, tired eyes to peer into the inner darkness, where not even a flitting, amorphous fragment gave evidence of things not seen, the following characterization of Spencer will prove impressively picturesque:

> "His dry schoolmaster temperament, the hurdy-gurdy monotony of him, his preference for cheap makeshifts in argument, his lack of education even in mechanical principles, and in general the vagueness of all his fundamental ideas, his whole system wooden, as if knocked together out of cracked hemlock boards—and yet the half of England wants to bury him in Westminster Abbey."

Just here the personal equation comes in. Religion and philosophy are largely a matter of temperament, even of physical condition. Undoubtedly if the Father of Pessimism had not been a confirmed dyspeptic, the history of philosophy would have been quite different in respect of Schopenhauer. Conservatives in temperament will always be formalists,—rationalists, Romanists, mystics, etc.; radicals will always seek to burst the bonds of convention. Professor James admits that if belief in Absolutism affords any degree of comfort to any one, it has so much "cash value" and must be duly considered, since "true is the name of whatever proves itself to be good, for a definite reason, in the way of belief."

To the theologian, Design in nature proves the existence of God. To the pragmatist, "Design" is what Professor James calls a blank cartridge, as it carries no consequences. *What* design and *what* designer? are the only questions that concern him, and the answer can be found only in the study of facts. Confidence in the future because of a "seeing force that runs things" is the only pragmatic justification for belief in design.

Free-will, to consider another metaphysical problem, is regarded by rationalists as a virtue, the possession of which gives peculiar dignity to man, thereby making him more admirable. But the belief in Free-will is really founded on pragmatic grounds, since it implies novelties in the world, a future which does not absolutely repeat the past. It has no meaning pragmatically unless as a melioristic doctrine, says Professor James, with improvement as a possibility,—a cosmological theory of promise, not a petty doctrine involving punishment and rewards of merit. Pragmatism here spans the gulf between the two extremes of rationalistic free-willism and empiricist fatalism. Like the athlete whose final triumph in the race is determined by the rigor of his daily training, so the individual, at an ethical crisis (I take it), acts in accordance with his nature at the moment of his "decision" (determinism), that nature having been fortified by mental effort along the desired lines (free-will).

There are three classic stages in the career of a theory, says Professor James. First, it is attacked as absurd; then admitted to be true, but obvious and insignificant; finally it is seen to be so important that its adversaries claim to be its discoverers. The theory of pragmatism is slowly advancing from the first to

the second stage, and perhaps there lives no better exponent of the open-mindedness, concreteness and vitality necessary to get it into the third stage than Professor James. "Better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied," said John Stuart Mill, to whom this book is dedicated as to one who might be the leader of Pragmatism were he alive to-day.

Pragmatism is not a philosophy of dissatisfaction, but it *is* a revolt against a universe "with a tight belly-band," where all metaphysical questions are forever settled and shelved by thinkers whose opinions are no more worthy of consideration than their opponents'.

The belief in rationalism is like acceptance of Romanism. Once you are in the ship you're safe, but you're also anchored. If you embark on the vessel of Pragmatism, you sail out into a world of promise, in the spirit of adventure which says, "If I lose, I do but lose. If I gain—what enormous possibilities!" You accept the mutability of all things (including truth) as you would the prospect of storms. It is the major premise of your syllogism.

I know personally the fascination of transcendental idealism. Its spell is potent at the age when one wishes to see the universe written down in terms of finite and infinite. Its authoritativeness seems a brilliant answer to the riddle of the universe, like the glittering ball which the hypnotist holds before his subject. But it doesn't get you anywhere! From the pragmatic point of view, the noble heights of contemplation and the rarefied air of speculation and theory have use only as they provide strength for the contests in the valleys below; abstractions are all right if they carry you anywhere, says pragmatism.

From the point of view of mere interest, then, pragmatism is infinitely superior to either rationalism or materialism, for according to this theory, the world is malleable, and eternally incomplete; beliefs are merely rules for action, and the only value of thought is dynamic. No one can deny, says Professor James, that to believe ourselves creators of reality would add to our dignity and to our responsibility as thinkers. The tonic effect of such a belief is the same as one feels in leaving the close, incense-laden air of a cathedral for the pure, invigorating air of the moors.

CAROLYN SHIPMAN.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG.

LONDON, *July, 1907.*

ENGLAND has followed with an interest not wholly free from disquietude the rumors and counter-rumors of American naval changes. Whether Mr. Metcalf was making an unauthorized stroke off his own bat, whether he spoke with the approval of the President and the Naval Board, whether, in short, the contemplated voyage of the main American fleet from the Atlantic to the Pacific is really to take place, we over here do not definitely know. Nor are these the only points on which our information is meagre and confused. Assuming that the move has been officially determined upon, we are wholly at sea in guessing whether it is merely a temporary disposition, "simply a matter of routine in the management and drill of the navy," as Mr. Loeb declared it to be, or whether it foreshadows a permanent redistribution of the American naval forces. Is it of no more significance than the familiar cruises of American squadrons in European waters, or is it, as the London "Outlook" surmises, "a political and a strategical event of the first moment—the most important event of its kind since our own concentration of naval strength a year or two ago"? What is its objective? Is the Atlantic seaboard to be denuded of battle-ships simply that the citizens of San Francisco, who, so far as is known in England, have not of late done much to deserve the favors of the Federal Government, may be regaled with a sight of the most powerful fleet that the United States has ever assembled? Is it the official intention that the twenty-odd men-of-war, after their sixty days' voyage, shall merely burn a certain amount of coal off the Golden Gate, and then return whence they came? Or will they, when they leave San Francisco, point west instead of south, cross the

Pacific and drop anchor in Manila Bay? Or will a sufficient number of them remain off the western coast of the continent to form the nucleus of a permanent Pacific squadron? Are we to understand that the voyage marks the beginning of the systematic assertion of American power in the Pacific and hints at what will prove to be the final disposition of American naval forces—a small squadron in the Atlantic and a far larger one in the Pacific? And, lastly, what political inference, if any, is to be drawn from the decision to effect the transfer from the one ocean to the other at this particular moment? Does it mean that, from the standpoint of American interests, the Atlantic has descended and the Pacific has risen in the scale of ultimate political and strategical importance? Is the voyage no more than an opportune riveting of the many links of sympathetic cooperation and good-will forged by Mr. Root during his South-American tour? Or is the occasion for it to be sought in the friction that has arisen between the United States and Japan? Or, as the eloquent *communiqués* from Oyster Bay would have the world believe, has it no international significance of any kind whatsoever? May one, in fact, put it down as nothing more than a novel, interesting, but in no sense portentous, experiment in naval manœuvres—an experiment that, if carried out, will overwhelmingly demonstrate the strategical necessity for the Panama Canal and the inadequacy of the present naval forces of the United States for the protection of her two coast lines?

These are all points that the English press, English publicists and English naval men are eagerly canvassing. Their resultant opinion, on the main question at any rate, is definite enough. They agree that the expulsion of Spain from Cuba, the revolution in Anglo-American relations and the constantly diminishing probability of a European war arising out of the Monroe Doctrine, have within the last ten years made it unnecessary for the United States to maintain in the Atlantic much more than a mere police and patrol squadron. At the same time, their interests, commercial, political and territorial, in the Pacific and in the Far East have enormously expanded. If, therefore, it really be the intention of the American Government to transfer the bulk of the fleet from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Englishmen believe that the intention needs no further justification than may be found in these two facts. They look upon it as a re-

arrangement that, in all its essentials, was determined by the results of the war with Spain and their consequences.

But, while approving and defending, on general grounds, the projected move from the New York to the San Francisco side of the continent, English opinion is inclined to question its expediency at this precise juncture, and to think that it is likely to complicate a situation already none too easy. Granting that its necessity arose long before, and was in no way connected with, the trouble between the United States and Japan, it is still held over here that a decision which would inevitably be twisted into looking like a demonstration against Japan, or at least a strong precaution against Japanese "designs," should for the present have remained unannounced. The vast majority of Englishmen have no fear of any serious breach of the excellent relations that have hitherto obtained between America and Japan. But they suspect that those relations, in their popular if not their official form, are not now quite so cordial as they have been; they realize that the question of Japanese coolie immigration is still far from being at an end; and, with Japanese pride on the one side and the yellow press and American "politics" on the other, they think it not impossible that public feeling on both sides of the Pacific may be worked up into a state of irrational but none the less disquieting tension. They regard it, therefore, as of some importance that the San Francisco mob should not be led into thinking that its methods of provocation are not without official endorsement; and it is because the voyage of the American fleet from the Narrows to the Golden Gate might just now appear to convey this endorsement that Englishmen find it in their hearts to wish it had been postponed. I need scarcely add that all this speculation about America's alleged plan of naval redistribution has immensely whetted European interest in the specific question of Japanese immigration into the United States. England's interest in this question is twofold. In the first place, she is the ally of Japan and therefore interested in all that concerns the foreign relations of Tokio, even though the matter at issue may lie, as this one does, wholly outside the scope of the alliance. In the second place, she is watching California for a hint as to how to deal with, or rather how not to deal with, a problem that sooner or later will confront herself in British Columbia, in New Zealand and in Australia. Already the Im-

perial Government has found itself obliged to disallow a law passed by the legislature of British Columbia excluding Japanese coolies. In Australia, the feeling against the yellow man as a competitive settler is perhaps the nearest approach to a really national sentiment that the antipodean continent can boast. With that feeling Great Britain, at whatever jeopardy to the Japanese alliance, must ultimately associate herself. The "Spectator," which to a degree unrivalled by any other journal represents the reflective common sense of England, clearly recognizes this. In an extremely earnest and forcible article that appeared on July 13th, it said:

"We have the highest admiration for the valor, the patriotism, the genius and the great spiritual qualities of the Japanese, and none desire more ardently than we do to live on the friendliest terms with them, and to see them play that great part in the world's history which we believe they are destined to play if they are content to move at first slowly and prudently. At the same time—as they, we are sure, will be the first to admit—be the claims of logic and pure reason what they will, our duty in the last resort is to our own flesh and blood. We must stand by our own people, and by the communities which form part of our Empire. This does not, of course, involve standing by them in outraging any moral or religious or political obligation; but stand by them we must when they are vindicating with reason and moderation and a due regard to justice their instinctive feeling that they can only develop their national life on the highest scale if they remain white men's countries, governed in accordance with the ethical and religious ideals of the Western races."

I have reproduced this somewhat lengthy passage, partly because I know of no one in England who would not subscribe to it, and partly because Americans may derive consolation from studying it. They will realize after reading it that the difficulty which confronts them in California is by no means peculiar to themselves alone. Identical troubles are in store for Great Britain, and may yet profoundly affect the course of British foreign policy and the relations between the Home and Colonial Governments. It is a fact, not without its obvious bearing on the future of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, that the Californians, in their proceedings against the Japanese should have found in Australia, New Zealand and British Columbia the support and approval apparently denied to them by their own fellow countrymen.

While the American Navy Department at Washington seems

to have been coming in for a good deal of criticism from Americans, the British Admiralty has also been subjected to the attacks of its countrymen. Indeed, for the past few months, England has been passing through one of her periodic, healthy and thoroughly commendable scares about the navy. I say "healthy" and "commendable" because, in a country like this, where the impulse toward reform is generated from below and not imposed from above, it is a most encouraging sign that, in the most vital of all national questions—and there is no British question that will begin to compare in importance with that of the navy—the people and the press should take a sustained and vigilant interest. Unquestionably, at this moment, there is a feeling in the public mind that all is not well with the British navy. Ever since Sir John Fisher was appointed First Sea-Lord, the most drastic schemes of naval reorganization have been initiated and enforced. With the pivotal basis of those schemes —the concentration, namely, of British sea-power in home or, at any rate, European waters for the purpose of offsetting the growth of the German high sea fleet—the country is in entire agreement. But with various details of the new *régime*—particularly with the newly devised system of educating officers—and with some of the consequences of the redistribution of the fleets, criticism has been free and even violent. I have in mind especially the question of retrenchment. Within the last three years the naval estimates have been reduced by over $30,000,000; the personnel of the navy has been cut down by three thousand; the number of workmen in the Royal Dockyards is said to be eight thousand less than it was in 1904; many naval stations all over the world have been abandoned; in the last ten years it is asserted that England has laid down only sixty-four destroyers to Germany's seventy-two; and the present programme of construction is said to have not merely fallen below the two-Power standard but to be on a smaller scale than that of a single European rival. In addition to this, grave allegations are made to the effect that the composition, training, equipment and disposition of the Channel Fleet make it inferior to the force that Germany could at any moment bring against it, while the Home Fleet is roundly declared to be "not a true fleet, but a more or less fortuitous concourse of naval atoms."

I am not a naval expert and dare neither refute these charges

nor endorse them. But, using simply such common sense as an uninstructed layman can bring to the study of the problem, I incline to the opinion that, though they spoil it by needless heat and exaggeration, the critics of the Admiralty have substantially a good case, that the Channel Fleet is below its prescribed strength and not organized with the completeness essential to a force that is supposed to be ready to strike at a moment's notice, that the system of "nucleus crews" is impairing efficiency and discipline, and that the Home Fleet—the second line of defence—is not instantly available for war and, so far as I can gather, will not be so for another fifteen months or two years. I do not, on the other hand, believe for a moment that the charge of sacrificing efficiency to economy—a charge always preferred against Radical governments in this country—is well founded. Moreover, it is, I think, a sound view that the shortcomings, such as they are, in the present state of the British navy are due not to any radical defect, but the temporary confusion inseparable from any great scheme of reorganization. They are not on that account any the less serious or reprehensible, and I am bound to say that a great many people, including officers in the service, believe them to be more widespread and detrimental than the surface indications would lead outsiders to suspect. This view is strongly held by a section of the Navy League, that admirable non-party organization which has done more than any other body to foster popular interest in the navy. The more militant spirits in the League, feeling that the inactivity of the executive committee in the face of the naval reductions amounted to a betrayal both of the country and of the League's *raison d'être,* summoned an extraordinary meeting on July 19th, at which some exceedingly pointed language was used. The executive committee managed to secure the adoption of an amendment in its own favor by a moderate majority, but the views expressed and the feeling engendered during the three hours' debate showed the intensity of doubt, suspicion and perplexity with which those who have most closely studied the subject regard the naval situation.

ST. PETERSBURG, *July, 1907.*

"THE miserable have no other medicine, but only hope," Shakespeare tells us. That is emphatically the case of the Russian people of to-day, who unfortunately cannot take even that

comforting potion in any but homeopathic doses. In all quarters of the compass, the horizon looks black, the sky lowering, and only the optimistic think they can descry a silver lining to the clouds. Probably no such extraordinary political situation has been known since the dawn of history. It is unique. The nation, or the spokesmen of the nation, refuse to be satisfied to-day with a constitution a mere fraction of which would have contented them two years ago. They ask for a democratic parliamentary *régime* which must spring from the brain of the Premier ready made, as Minerva sprang from the head of Zeus. The Cabinet, falsely suspected of strong leanings towards autocracy, is really moving heaven and earth to get a Parliament accepted and established as part of the machinery of government. Thus the rôles of the two adversaries have been entirely changed: the Tsar's Ministers are now the champions of constitutionalism, while the democratic parties are straining every nerve to oppose it. The latter maintain that half a loaf is not better, but worse, than no bread at all. Hence their motto is, "Everything or nothing." M. Stolypin, on the other hand, entreats them to take what is being offered, and to use that as a stepping-stone to their own goal. "That is the natural course to take; it is the historical method; it is the only safe system." But they refuse. And each party proceeds to put unconstitutional pressure on the Ministers and the Crown: these by means of political assassination, those by systematic attacks on the finances, and a third group by elaborately sowing discord in the field of foreign policy between Russia and her ally. One and all, they seem unable to grasp the fact that, whoever may succeed in sowing the wind, the whole nation will be forced to reap the whirlwind. If France and Russia fall out, the result will inevitably be a close friendship between the Tsardom and the Kaiserthum, to the detriment of representative institutions. In like manner, if Russia's financial credit abroad be seriously impaired and her solvency at home endangered, one of the consequences will be a check to liberal reforms, not one of which can be effected without money.

At present the attitude of the Russian people may be described as that of suspense. The bulk of the nation cannot see clearly through the political tangle, and even most of the political orators are sorely puzzled by the experiences of the last few months. And nobody knows or can guess what is coming next.

The feeling is general that a Duma of the type already tested is unsuited to the nation, but it is equally general that no statesman or politician has as yet learned the magic word, the open sesame, to legality, order, prosperity. None the less, it would be wrong to despair, as so many Russians are prone to do. For the recuperative powers of the nation are extraordinary. Like those curious mosses which, apparently dead and desiccated, yet come to life after many years, increasing and multiplying as in the days when they were young, the Slav people are endowed with uncommon vitality. More than once before, history tells us, they were in quite as sorry a plight as that of the present moment, and yet they somehow went through the ordeal unscathed. Is not the past, in this case, a safe index to the future?

One hundred and forty years ago, the Great Empress Catherine made an experiment in the domain of representative government which bore a striking likeness to the essay which her successor Nicholas II is making in the same sphere to-day. She convoked a parliament which was to act as the intermediary between the nation and the Crown, to share in the responsibility of the monarch and assist the Government to make just laws for the people. The enterprise was well meant, but the masses could not grasp its significance. They lacked moderation; self-mastery and patience were unknown to them; and they set back the reform movement nearly a century and a half. But before they went to their homes, they addressed the Empress in the following words, which were lately laid before Nicholas II by one of his advisers:

"When we look around upon the phenomena of the time in which we live, our soul is thrilled, and the fall of the Empire presents itself in lively colors to our imagination. We behold our religious faith given over to the contempt and mockery of men of other races. We see the operation of our laws arrested: everywhere contradiction and a refusal to execute them prevail. Even Justice itself is enfeebled by the general decay of conscientiousness and morality. Not only are the pillars of the government shaken, but its very foundations are shattered. The imperial revenues are running dry, trust in the Empire is fading, and Russian trade and industry are in consequence depressed. Brigandage, covetousness, self-interest, violence and other vices, awakened by the conduct of outsiders who have settled among us and encouraged by many people, are growing to the ruin of the nation and render the evils that have overtaken our fatherland like unto wounds that cannot be healed."

Those remarkable words, uttered in the year 1767, describe fairly well the condition of things Russian to-day. Yet the nation extricated itself from the tangle of evils and dangers in which it then seemed hopelessly caught. And the feat achieved then may well be repeated to-day. Whether the third Duma will save the country is a question which all parties now unanimously answer in the negative. The Zemsky Congress, which was held during the second half of June, is looked upon by the Democrats as an indication of what the coming Parliament will be, and on the strength of the proceedings of that body the progressive press has raised a cry of despair. And yet the readers of this REVIEW who are interested in Russian affairs will probably remember that the first Russian Constitutional movement, nay, the preliminary Duma itself, was formed exclusively of members of the Zemstvo, who, risking imprisonment and graver dangers, broke the law and met in secret conclave more than two years ago. One hundred and seventeen members were present at the recent Zemstvo convocation, of whom there were but thirty representing the Extreme Right, all the others belonging to various groups of the Opposition. But most of the Zemstvo workers, being men possessed of a stake in the country and enlightened by the training and experience which they obtained as members of the chief autonomous body in the Empire, gave vent to opinions which differ notably from those of the first and second Dumas.

Many press organs of the Opposition affect to regard the Zemstvo Congress at Moscow as a fair indication of what the third Russian parliament will be: a mockery and a delusion. Several journals declare that, if the third Duma resemble the Zemstvo Congress, there is no hope that the country will be pacified by its legislative activity. Meanwhile, preparations are being made for a brisk fight at the elections; and, on the principle that everything is fair in love and war, the heavy artillery of reckless accusation is being hurriedly brought to the fore.

Very serious is the quarrel between the Cadets and the Right, for it turns upon political murder. Piquancy is imparted to the discussion by the incongruity of the rôles of the actors: the Cadets, who have obstinately refused to condemn political assassination, incendiarism or brigandage, now accuse the conservative League of the Russian people, which has solemnly and

repeatedly stigmatized all three crimes, of having killed two Cadets and twice endeavored to murder Count Witté. The reply is a flat denial of the charge. But, on the other hand, it is a fact that the official press organ of the Russian League has over and over again employed language, when criticising its political opponents, which was calculated to excite the reading public to acts of violence against the persons thus held up to opprobrium. And for that reason it is well to learn the interesting story now told by the revolutionists.

In the beginning of June, in the outskirts of St. Petersburg, beyond the River Okhta, a corpse was found horribly disfigured, the head almost severed from the body. The police ascertained that the victim of the crime was a workman named Kazantseff, whose name had been mentioned in connection with the murder of the Cadet Herzenstein, twelve months ago. But beyond this the police could not penetrate. Very soon afterwards the revolutionists issued a circular informing the world that they had succeeded where the police had failed. The young man who killed Kazantseff had come to them remorsefully and told them the story of his adventures and misdeeds.

Kazantseff was a workman in Tillman's factory at St. Petersburg, where, in 1904-1905, he became intimately acquainted with a fellow operative, who may be called Ivanoff. In December, 1905, when Witté was Premier, Ivanoff was arrested and sent out of the capital. But, as usually happens in such cases, he came back again incognito, and resided on the banks of the Neva as before. That is the rule nowadays. Once more he and Kazantseff met, and the latter took him to Moscow on false pretences, fraternized with him as a brother Socialist, informed him that "the party" had resolved to kill a certain Count and requested Ivanoff to lend a hand and to enlist other helpers as well. Ivanoff thereupon goes straight to one of his friends, whose identity is veiled by the pseudonym of Feodoroff, and asks him to join the circle of voluntary executioners. Feodoroff assents, as a matter of course; and he it is who now tells the story to the revolutionists and makes an act of contrition. But when Ivanoff is about to bring Kazantseff and Feodoroff together, he is arrested. None the less, the interview between the other two takes place, and Kazantseff unfolds his scheme of murdering "the Count." Feodoroff, who seems put out by the arrest of

Ivanoff, is inspirited by Kazantseff, who says: "Don't let that worry you. As soon as we finish our work we shall have money, and then we'll rescue Ivanoff."

Then the tempter continued his easy task, explaining that the Count in question (Witté) had turned traitor to the party and had denounced a number of "comrades," who were now behind bolts and bars, and now it had been decided to execute him. All that was needed was that Feodoroff should set about the business at once and enlist the services of a helper. And Feodoroff assented, went straightway to a fellow workman and asked him to help to kill the traitorous Count. The comrade complied with the request and the pair began to fill two infernal machines. The next morning, at five o'clock, they took a drosky and drove to the street in which Count Witté's house is situated and there Kazantseff showed his assistants what to do and how to do it. At seven o'clock the latter entered the court of a neighboring house, reached the stables, and by means of a ladder climbed up to the laundry of Count Witté's house and thence to the roof. They had first to remove the vanes and then they lowered the infernal machines, one into each of the chimneys. At nine o'clock the machines were timed to explode. But neither then nor later did the catastrophe occur. Kazantseff, discontented and suspicious, met the two mercenaries at noon, and upbraided them with the failure of the plan. There had been some hitch, owing to the careless way in which they did the work. But everything might yet be made good, if they would fetch two pieces of iron weighing from ten to fifteen pounds each and lower them on a string until they struck the infernal machines. The next morning the two came with the pieces of iron, but before they arrived at the house they learned that the machines had been discovered.

Kazantseff, when next he met the amateur executioners, instructed them to write letters to Count Witté demanding money. One day such a threatening letter was received by Count Witté. It called upon him to pay a sum of money under pain of death, and it told him to whom he was to hand over the ransom—naming a petty employee in a certain State institution. That letter was at once forwarded by the Count to the Director of the Police Department. A few days later a second letter was brought to the Count by a public messenger who stated that he had been instructed to wait for an answer. *This public messenger the Count*

handed over to an agent of the secret police. But, so far as I am aware, nothing came of the action taken by Count Witté.

The scene of the next act of this wild drama was Kazantseff's own well-furnished flat in Moscow. Here we see him boasting to Feodoroff that he is living under an assumed name and with a false passport, and explaining the details of the next patriotic work. This time the victim is also a "traitor," who, having taken part in a successful raid, kept eighty thousand roubles ($40,000) of the spoil for himself and is now condemned to die. Feodoroff undertakes to "do for" this backslider and comrade.

"Just before the fatal moment"—it is Feodoroff himself who is now describing the crime—"Kazantseff called me into an ale-house. 'From here,' he said, 'it is easy to keep a lookout.' I entered and agreed with him. Speaking conscientiously [!] I must say that I was tortured by the forefeeling that I had not at all followed the condemned man. Kazantseff, on the contrary, was watching sharply. The moment the man reached the ale-house, where we were sitting, Kazantseff pointed him out and then we both left. I went after the man, overtook and outran him and then stood inside the court that leads into two streets.

"When the man was drawing near the courtyard I turned sideways towards him and fired at the distance of five paces. I aimed at his chest, but as I afterwards learned from the newspapers, the bullets entered his face. I fired four times. Then I rushed through the courtyard, jumped upon a passing drosky and escaped. Instead of going to meet Kazantseff at the rendezvous he had given me, I made for his flat. He welcomed me and gave me a kiss, like Judas. Impatiently I waited for the evening paper. I buy a copy, and with great emotion I learn that I am the murderer of Yollos, a member of the first Duma. I cannot describe what I then endured. Kazantseff said it did not matter, and that they were always stigmatizing the reactionaries or Black Hundred Men. I then said to myself: 'So I, too, am a Black Hundred Man.' And a suspicion darted through my brain that perhaps Kazantseff was also a member of that gang, but I had no facts to go upon then."

But, despite his suspicions, Feodoroff clung tenaciously to Kazantseff, and together they planned a raid which was to have yielded a million roubles ($500,000). Only when the scheme was

put off and no money was forthcoming did Feodoroff ask Kazantseff to introduce him to "the party." It was high time. But Kazantseff put it off and finally said that the party still lacked confidence in Feodoroff. This was the turning-point in their relations. Feodoroff was thenceforward on the alert.

The next "stroke of work" mapped out was the murder of Doctor Bielsky, an oculist of Moscow, on the ground that he was a reactionary. Feodoroff temporized first, then he questioned Kazantseff as to the truth of the charge and finally he had the deed postponed. Just then Ivanoff, who had been arrested a second time, reappeared on the scene. Kazantseff told him how he had attempted Witté's life, killed Yollos and planned the death of Bielsky. Ivanoff and Feodoroff agreed that the time had come to "take the measure" of Kazantseff. One day, chance gave them a glimpse into his "double-dealing methods." Ivanoff, waiting in Kazantseff's study for the host to appear, opened a drawer of the writing-table, and found programmes of the Russian League, Conservative leaflets and cartridges, which seemed to show that their owner was a reactionary. That was Kazantseff's trial and condemnation.

A fresh attempt on Count Witté's life was the next "piece of work" awaiting the amateur death-dealers, and it necessitated their return to St. Petersburg. In a lonely spot beyond the Okhta, on the outskirts of St. Petersburg, Feodoroff came by appointment on June 9th to meet Kazantseff and take charge of the bombs which were to blow up Count Witté. When Kazantseff appeared, Feodoroff plunged his dagger into Kazantseff's neck. Kazantseff fell heavily to the ground. Thinking his victim dead, Feodoroff seized his papers, but the wounded man moved. The murderer then rushed at him, hacked his face, cut his throat, slashed his head and finally left him, a loathsome thing. After that he went over to the revolutionists and told them this story.

The insight which this gruesome story gives into the modes of thought and action that prevail in revolutionary Russian circles is most instructive and unedifying. But the conclusion drawn from it, that the League of the Russian people concocts plots against the lives of prominent liberal politicians, will not bear serious examination.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

MONDAY, *August 12.* **Conferring Benefits.**

To confer a benefit is far from an easy matter. Neither money nor power endows one with the privilege of benefiting others, for the giving of money is more apt to do harm than good; the conferring of place and position makes a strained relation and often betrays a man to his dearest failings. So over and above being virtuous, which is always an unalloyed blessing in an evil world, there are few things one can do that are unequivocally good for the doer and for those to whom he addresses himself. Perhaps to hand on the name of an author and a book in which one has found great joy is coming as near to conferring a benefit as one may. There has recently appeared in this country a very adequate and beautiful translation of a wonderful Dutch novel, van Eeden's "Quest." The "Quest" is in form an autobiographical romance, and in substance the spiritual adventure, beginning with the child's first acquaintance with nature and the imaginative dream he projects into nature. From the first page to the last there is not a sentence that is unmeaning or superabundant; the book is drenched in beauty and upheld by exalted and noble thinking. Somewhat reminiscent of a Faust-epos, the young Johannes searches the world for that which shall satisfy. Imagination and nature show him beauty and offer him adventures among the elves and fairies and animals. The insight into the life of the childish mind, the mind of a fine and nobly born child, is marvellous and turns one back involuntarily to Andersen's Fairy Tales. So nature and imagination lead and hold the child until he chances on the gnome Wistik, who is, in all probability, the search for truth, or intellect which wakens as childhood vanishes and youth approaches. Somewhere in the world, Wistik tells

him, there is a book and somewhere else is hidden the key which will unlock the book, and he who brings the two together and opens the book will know why the world is as it is, for it is the Book of Truth, and brings such peace and happiness to him who reads it that he never asks again for anything more. But alas! none has ever read the book yet, and it is only dimly and by hearsay that it is known. Wistik leads the youth Johannes to the two great doctors, Pluizer and Cijfer, whom one may, perhaps, guess to be representatives of science and materialism, and with them he lives through the blackest, the most hopeless days of his life and finally turns back to the friend of his childhood, Windekind, child of the wind, that spirit that bloweth where it listeth. But even as he woos his old companion, there appears to him, walking upon the waters, just at sunset, in the middle of a glowing space, surrounded by great fiery clouds, the dark figure of a man; his face is pale, his eyes are dark and there is an infinitely gentle melancholy in his gaze. And when Johannes accosts him and asks:

"Who are you? Are you a man?" He answers: "I am more."

"Art thou Jesus? Art thou God?" asks Johannes.

"Speak not those names!" says the figure. "They were holy and pure as sacerdotal robes, and precious as nourishing corn; yet they have become as husks before swine, and a jester's garb for fools. Name them not, for their meaning has become perverted, their worship a mockery. Let him who would know me cast aside those names and listen to himself."

And here ends the fairy-tale part of Johannes's life, and he begins to live a real life among men and to learn the two vital truths given among men which have played so small a part in so-called Christianity: the Kingdom of Heaven is within you, and if you love not your brother whom you have seen, how can you love God whom you have not seen?

One of the most interesting interludes in the book is Johannes's excursion into Hell with the Real Devil. The Real Devil is not in the least the old familiar Satanic majesty of poetic fame, but is a conventionally garbed nice-looking young fellow with a straw hat, against whose assaults Wistik has cautioned Johannes to hold on to two weapons,—a little flower given him by one he loves and a small mirror. At the worst crises Johannes looks into the mirror and saves himself.

There is one flaw in the book, and that is the Utopian picture of human life which Johannes sees. Who was it who said that William Morris's Utopia was like a perennial afternoon picnic with plenty of cold lemonade and pretty women? For some reason, Utopias never succeed. Remove the elements of danger, struggle, labor and sacrifice, and the best life one can conceive seems tame and boring. It is, however, heartening to realize that the soul's adventure has somewhat widened its scope in the last century. It is no longer the question as to whether wearied learning may seek sensations, betray innocence and yet outwit the devil; it is the much larger question of the whole relation of man to man.

One cannot read van Eeden's great book as a novel or a story any more than one could read "Faust" as a mere story. Van Eeden is not telling a tale, and there is no plot, no structure, no complication and no solution. The book is not in the least in the order of the small, neatly constructed novel. It is a full account of the soul's quest, and the theory of life of a man of a very high order of genius and of a comprehensive mind who writes with compelling magic.

THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUILDING
CLEVELAND, OHIO

CLEVELAND.

THE city of Cleveland—one hundred and eleven years old this month—commands the admiration of America for its advancement in commerce, art, and civic spirit. Situated on the south shore of Lake Erie, its industrial development is due, largely, to the relation of its location to the iron-ore deposits of the lake region and the coal of the Pennsylvania and Ohio fields. The Cleveland district is regarded as being the most economical assembling-point in America for the manufacture of iron, steel, and allied products. Nature's contribution to the upbuilding of the city has been supplemented by the efforts of the resourceful men who have taken advantage of the wonderful opportunity afforded them.

POPULATION.

The city was founded by New-Englanders in 1796. For many years the population was dominated by men of New England birth, and to-day its business and professional men are largely of New England ancestry. The population now, however, is of cosmopolitan character. The growth in population has been marvellous. Here are the figures: 1850, 17,054; 1860, 43,843; 1870, 92,825; 1880, 160,141; 1890, 261,353; 1900, 381,768; 1907 (estimated), 500,000. In other words, the population has approximately doubled since 1890.

MANUFACTURES.

The city is essentially a manufacturing city. In 1900 the capital employed in manufacturing enterprises was $98,303,682, and the number of such enterprises 2927. In 1905, based on the partial manufactures census made by the United States Government, the number of manufacturing establishments was 3508, and the capital invested in them $165,000,000, a gain of 67.34 per cent. in five years.

Cleveland takes first rank in the United States in the production of steel ships, heavy machinery, wire and wire nails, bolts and nuts, malleable castings, carriage hardware, large automobiles, sewing-machine cabinets, vapor stoves, electric carbons, dry batteries, steel-tired car-wheels, heavy forgings, etc. Cleveland has contributed the world's greatest telescopes and the largest cotton-presses, as well as more than half of the beet-sugar machinery manufactured in the United States.

COMMERCE.

A comparison of the receipts and shipments of Cleveland for several years gives evidence of the growth of its commerce. Tonnage—Receipts: 1896, $9,336,716; 1906, $19,987,270. Shipments: 1896, $5,628,461; 1906, $13,678,840.

IRON ORE.

The Cleveland district's ore receipts and shipments are significant. Receipts of iron ore, 1886, 1,918,394 tons; 1896, 6,166,236 tons; 1906, 23,738,146 tons. The tonnage received in the Cleveland district in 1906 was 61.62 per cent. of the entire Lake Superior product.

COAL.

In 1887 (1886 figures not available) Cleveland received 1,746,437 tons of coal; in 1896, 3,476,312 tons; in 1906, 6,827,087 tons. In 1887 Cleveland shipped 723,802 tons; in 1896, 1,935,136 tons; and in 1906, 3,099,822 tons.

RAILROADS.

The lines of seven railroad systems radiate from Cleveland: the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railway, the New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railroad, the Erie Railroad, the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis Railway, the Wabash Railroad, the Pennsylvania Lines, and the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. A belt-line is now under construction, the Cleveland Short Line Railway, by means of which ready interchange of business will be effected between any two of these, far away from the business centre, thus relieving Cleveland of much of the congestion usually attendant upon so extensive traffic.

Cleveland is served by many boat-lines, both passenger and package freight, and those carrying heavy tonnage—coal, grain, and iron-ore. The extent of operations in this connection is illustrated by the incidental fact that the pier station of the Pennsylvania Lines (one of fifteen freight stations in Cleveland) handles a greater tonnage annually than any other single station in the world.

Cleveland is served by six interurban traction lines, with connections reaching practically all of Ohio and Indiana and much of the adjoining states.

WHOLESALE MARKET.

The wholesale mercantile operations of Cleveland closely follow that logical trend of events which during the last twenty-five years has built up, as jobbing centres, certain of the progressive interior cities of the country.

While many of the common and most of the finer wares were made in foreign countries, it was natural that the importing cities of the coast should, to a large extent, monopolize their distribution. Now that the United States is so largely supplying its own needs, the situation is changed, and the demands of trade for quick communication and transportation, low freights, goods selected with special reference to the needs of the locality, and frequent trips to market are met by Cleveland wholesale merchants in a way that admits no doubt of thorough efficiency.

Being on the great highway between the East and the West, the consequent large number of travelling salesmen canvassing Cleveland territory keeps prices down to a minimum as surely as though Cleveland were the metropolis of the country, and necessitates attractive and complete assortments.

The location of a United States Custom-House in Cleveland enables Cleveland wholesale merchants to buy abroad in the same markets as Eastern importers, and to ship direct to Cleveland. The slight difference in cost of transportation, if any, is not sufficient to overbalance the advantages in other respects that Cleveland has over the coast cities.

Without devoting space to numerous statistics, it may be briefly stated that Cleveland is the largest centre in the Central States for the distribution of millinery, dry-goods, and hardware. Cleveland is the second largest producer of cloaks and women's garments in the United States, New York leading by but a small margin. Nearly fifteen thousand people are employed in this trade.

BANKS.

Cleveland's financial institutions are among the strongest in America. In 1886 the banking capital and surplus in Cleveland were $12,021,216, and the deposits $36,276,731; in 1896 the capital and surplus were $22,500,630, and the deposits $73,489,810; to-day the capital, surplus, and undivided profits of the banks of Cleveland amount to $39,275,471, and the deposits $239,529,782.

REAL ESTATE.

Perhaps in no other large city in America are such conservative valuations to be encountered as in Cleveland. It is believed that for like expenditures, home-seekers, or those desiring factory sites, or capitalists seeking realty investments, may do better within easy access of Cleveland's business

centres than in any other city in the country. As an instance of growth of values of real estate in Cleveland, the following may be cited: A parcel of land 100 feet front by about 200 feet deep on Euclid Avenue near East 9th Street sold in November, 1851, for $12,000; in October, 1872, for $60,000; in January, 1902, for $287,000; and in August, 1905, it was leased for 99 years on a basis of $550,000, with re-appraisal every ten years and to pay 4 per cent. net on all re-appraisals. This is no isolated case, but like instances of increase of values can be cited in all parts of the city, and in many cases a greater percentage of increase is shown. Cleveland is notably a city of detached homes. A greater proportion of its citizens own their own homes than in any other city as large. The cheapness of land makes this possible.

PARK SYSTEM.

Cleveland has seventeen parks, ranging from a few acres to hundreds of acres in size, 1645 acres in all, and all to be connected by an elaborate boulevard system; thirty miles of boulevard are already constructed, beautiful with the most luxuriant forestry and foliage. When completed as planned, the city will be surrounded by this continuous system of parks and boulevards.

THE GROUP PLAN.

Having outgrown its old public buildings, Cleveland has adopted a group plan for the new, including a modern passenger depot, court-house, city hall, post-office, and library, which, when completed, will be the finest group of public buildings in any city in America, excepting only the National Capital. They will surround a Mall and extend from Superior Avenue to the lake front, a territory of nearly three thousand feet in length and nearly half as wide. The title has nearly all been acquired for this project, the United States Government Building is nearing completion, the County Court-House is under construction, and the construction of the City Hall and Library buildings is soon to be commenced.

STREET-CAR SYSTEM.

Cleveland has one of the best surface street-car systems in the country, which is now offering to enter into a twenty-year contract to carry passengers to any part of the city and miles into the suburbs for a three-and-one-half-cent fare.

SUMMER RESORTS.

From Cleveland to Painesville, some thirty miles to the east, and to Lorain, some thirty miles to the west, along the lake shore is a succession of beautiful suburban homes, clubs, summer resorts, camping-grounds, and bathing-beaches, easy of access by traction and steam railways. The city is expanding very rapidly in every direction, both in its residential and business districts.

THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce is one of the leading organizations of its kind in the world. It is engaged in intelligent and honest effort for the upbuilding of the city. It is to be reckoned with in all questions of public interest in which the citizen, the city, or state is interested. Information of any character relative to the city may be secured promptly by addressing an inquiry to its secretary.

The Standard Journals of America

Advertisements in this department of "The North American Review" are accepted from only such newspapers as the editor considers to be eminently worthy as public journals and notably desirable as advertising mediums.

The Providence Daily Journal

No advertising campaign intended to reach the million people in southeastern New England would be well-planned if it did not begin with the PROVIDENCE JOURNAL. It is the paper which intelligent persons of means have in their homes and places of business the year round.

Foreign Advertising Representative

CHARLES H. EDDY

10 Spruce Street
NEW YORK

403 Marquette Building
CHICAGO

The Providence Daily Journal

UBLIC LEDGER

INVESTOR OR BUYER

For seventy years the PUBLIC LEDGER of Philadelphia has been the chief medium for financial advertising in Pennsylvania. Its constituency represents a larger investing class than that of any other newspaper in the United States. At no time in its history was its circulation so large as at present.

PUBLIC LEDGER

PHILADELPHIA, PA. **ESTABLISHED 1836**

No get-rich-quick, bucketshop or catch-penny financial advertising accepted. Whenever the PUBLIC LEDGER accepts an advertisement for its financial pages it is the highest testimony to its worthiness.

THE ARGUMENT OF EXPERIENCE

Is What Every Successful Advertiser Will Impart to You in Favor of

The Pittsburg Dispatch.

If you want to cover the great Pittsburg territory you must use the Dispatch, as it is the only Newspaper that reaches those of all classes with money to spend, being the one two-cent Morning Newspaper in its district.

A home-delivered circulation, going directly into the hands of the actual buyers of this community.

Get the BEST Always

The Want and Realty Medium of Pennsylvania, Carrying More Classified Advertising Than Any Other Pittsburg Newspaper.

THE DISPATCH PUBLISHING COMPANY
PITTSBURG, PENNA.

C. A. ROOK, President. E. M. O'NEILL, Vice-President.

BRANCH OFFICES:

EASTERN OFFICE—
Wallace G. Brooke,
41 Park Row,
New York, N. Y.

WESTERN OFFICE—
Horace M. Ford,
Marquette Bldg.,
Chicago, Ill.

ATLANTIC OFFICE—
Walter E. Edge,
1309 Atlantic Ave.,
Atlantic City, N. J.

THE CHICAGO EVENING POST.

EVERY EDITION A HOME EDITION

ADVERTISERS who buy space in THE CHICAGO EVENING POST reach the homes of discriminating and intelligent men and women. Every edition of THE EVENING POST is a "home" edition.

A sane, clean, optimistic newspaper, printing all the news that is fit to print. THE EVENING POST offers special attractions in:

The most varied, original and independent Editorial page in Chicago—contributed by writers of charm and distinction.

News of Books and Bookmen written by a corps of men and women who know and love books.

Foreign Cables and Correspondence by Justin Wallace, Malcolm Lincoln, Karleton Hackett and others.

Exclusive and authoritative news of the theaters—with the best theatrical pictures printed in Chicago.

A brilliant page of sporting news—baseball, golf, automobiles and amateur sports.

THE EVENING POST prints more financial and publishers' advertising than any other Chicago afternoon newspaper, and more automobile advertising than any other Chicago newspaper —morning or evening.

THE CHICAGO EVENING POST

160–162 Washington Street, Chicago

New York Office: Tribune Building

The Most Potent Newspaper In the Most Prosperous Section of the Nation

THE COURIER-JOURNAL

LOUISVILLE, KY.

ITS influence, won by faithful service, is increasing with the rapid and wholesome growth of the South, and it is recognized as supreme in this, the most prosperous period in the South's history. It reaches the great busy class of home-making, home-loving people. It offers most to the advertiser, because it has won its important place by giving the best newspaper to the greatest number of the best people of the South.

The News and Courier.

CHARLESTON, S. C.

IS one of the oldest daily newspapers in the United States. It was established in 1803, and has stood for more than a hundred years for what is best in the life of the community and State which it represents.

On the celebration of its Centennial, three years ago, the Hon. Joseph Daniel Pope, LL.D., Professor of Law in the South Carolina College, said: "I have great respect for THE NEWS AND COURIER, and always underwrite its political faith and opinions. There is nothing small or mean about them."

The Hon. Whitelaw Reid, editor of *The New York Tribune*, wrote of the share of THE NEWS AND COURIER in the history of the century: "It has already been written imperishably into the records and it is a continuing proof of the absurdity of the notions now so often held among the believers in the sensational journalism of the present day that the editorial page has lost its influence."

THE NEWS AND COURIER represents the best sentiment and the best people of South Carolina. It reaches every part of the State. It stands for honesty in the administration of public affairs, for sound money, for high morality, for the Law against the Mob, for decency in public as in private life. It believes in government by the people for the people; in the administration of the affairs of the States by the people of the States; in loyalty to the Government at Washington economically administered.

Advertisers will find THE NEWS AND COURIER a most effective means of reaching the people of South Carolina. They know what it is, what it represents, what its services have been worth to them in the development of their natural resources and in the preservation of the highest ideals in public conduct and in private thinking.

Advertisers who wish to reach the most solid people in South Carolina should use its columns.

Readers who would like to be informed of the best thought of the people of South Carolina and the South on all political, social, and industrial questions ought to read it every day.

For rates of advertising and subscription, address

The News and Courier

CHARLESTON, S. C.

The Hartford Courant

HARTFORD, CONN. ESTABLISHED 17

THE "COURANT" is representative of New England culture and conservatism. It prints all the news, and its editorial comments are made with distinction, and with its ancient and healthy regard for truth. It is the leading Connecticut advertising medium for publishers', financial and automobile advertising. It has been here a long time—142 years—and promises well for the future.

THE HARTFORD COURANT COMPANY, Publishers, Hartford, Conn

THE POST EXPRESS is a newspaper for the home, accepting no objectionable advertising, and is acknowledged to be the leading evening paper of western New York.

Clean, wholesome, ably edited, a power in its field and a medium that advertisers cannot afford to overlook.

The Post Express Printing Co., Rochester, N. Y.

UFFALO EXPRESS

DAILY AND SUNDAY

Advertisers!

If you have reliable goods to sell and wish to reach people with money to buy them—best results are obtained by advertising in

THE EXPRESS

The Cleveland Leader.

IT is not enough that an advertisement should reach the public—it must reach the *confidence* of the public if it is to be fruitful of results.

THE CLEVELAND LEADER carries its advertisements to the public because of its large circulation; it carries them to the *confidence* of the public because it is *known throughout Ohio* as a *reliable newspaper.*

The Times-Dispatch

In Richmond in 1906

the jobbing trade amounted to $61,524,275—a gain of $30,000,000 in ten years.

If the same rates of gain for the next ten years continue as was the gain in 1906 over 1905, which was $6,500,000, our jobbing trade will amount to $125,000,000 annually.

If you would reach every ward and street in Richmond, and all Virginia, you will use

THE TIMES-DISPATCH

It is Supreme in Virginia.

ST. PAUL has but one "Gold Mark" newspaper. These marks are granted a few American newspapers which are considered by advertisers more favorably because of their absolute quality than because of mere circulation.

The Pioneer Press

is the old land-mark of Minnesota journalism. It has been, since its birth, the gilt-edge, conservative newspaper of the Greatest State in the Great Northwest. It was always a popular advertising medium because of its entrée to the home where there is a disposition and an ability to buy necessaries and comforts. It is the only Morning and Sunday paper published in St. Paul.

FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES

STEPHEN B. SMITH
Tribune Building, New York City

PAYNE & YOUNG
Marquette Building, Chicago

WHAT BIG ADVERTISERS SAY ABOUT THE St. Joseph Daily Star

THE PLYMOUTH CLOTHING CO.

We have been users of space in your paper for the past year. We have received good returns and we heartily recommend your paper to buyers of advertising space as a profitable investment. Since you have been in St. Joseph you have demonstrated that there is a field for your kind of paper.

HOLLAND & O'BRIEN SHOE CO.

In regard to the STAR as an advertising medium will say that I have been using it since the paper started and consider it a good advertising medium and a good investment. It is getting better right along. Your paper is showing considerable progress and is getting better all the time.

SCOTLANDS

Having used your paper upwards of 1½ yrs., in fact ever since you published the 1st issue, I can say without any scruples whatever, that I consider your paper one of the best advertising mediums in our city, reaching the masses, the popular trade, and am well pleased with results.

TOWNSEND & WYATT DRY GOODS CO.

We have been advertising in your paper for the past year and are very well pleased with the results we are receiving from your paper. We are satisfied that we get good results from our investment with you.

A Growing Paper in a Growing Town

33 1/3% This is the rate of increase of the Volume of business carried by the STAR in JUNE, 1907, over JUNE, 1906.

You should include the STAR in your list for the coming autumn. Every insertion brings immediate returns and is a paying investment in your campaign of PUBLICITY.

C. D. BERTOLET
General Advertising Manager
705 Boyce Bldg. :: :: CHICAGO

W. R. BUTLER
705 Boyce Bldg., Chicago
9 W. 29th St., New York

J. F. ANTISDEL
9 West 29th Street
New York, N. Y.

O. G. DAVIES
306 Gumbel Building
Kansas City, Mo.

Every Issue of

The Sun

Is an Order to Show Cause
Why You Shouldn't
Feel Good.

THE SUN

Isn't Thrown Away
Until It's Read Through.

SUBSCRIPTIONS BY MAIL, POSTPAID:

DAILY, Per Month	$0.50	SUNDAY, Per Year	$2.00
DAILY, Per Year	6.00	DAILY AND SUNDAY, Per Year	8.00
DAILY AND SUNDAY, Per Month	$0.70		

POSTAGE TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES ADDED.

PUBLISHED AT 170 NASSAU ST., NEW YORK CITY

The World.

"Circulation Books Open to All."

The World.

"Circulation Books Open to All."

THE WORLD is the FIRST New York Newspaper

The net paid, regular city circulation of the morning and Sunday editions of THE WORLD alone exceeds that of any other New York morning newspaper by MORE THAN

3,000,000

copies per month.

92,005

Net average daily increase (Sundays included) was THE WORLD'S circulation record for the first six months of 1907 over the same period of 1906. Every copy sold. Every new reader real. All returns, free and exchange copies deducted.

The undersigned duly certify that the above figures of circulation growth are correct. DON C. SEITZ, Business Manager.
J. ANGUS SHAW, Sec.-Treas.

Sworn to before me this first day of July, 1907.
G. C. FIEGEL, Notary Public.

THE WORLD, PULITZER BLDG., NEW YORK

A National Moulder of Public Opinion

The Evening Post

(NEW YORK)

Acknowledged for over a century the quality medium of the country whose columns add character and dignity to American Journalism

HIGH-CLASS AND CONSERVATIVE

The most distinctive journal of its type, reflecting the thought of the world's foremost men, and read by a constituency whose purchasing power is unequalled by that of any other newspaper in America

An inquiry will bring a sample copy for one week with information regarding terms of subscription

The Evening Post

20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK

THE BROOKLYN DAILY EAGLE

The Junior Eagle

is an 8-page newspaper for young people, with short stories, continued stories, puzzles, games, etc. It is part of the regular Sunday edition of THE BROOKLYN EAGLE, and the price of both is but $1.50 per year.

The Monday EAGLE contains full reports of sermons delivered by the leading divines of New York and Brooklyn the previous day. Price, $1.50 per year.

The Saturday EAGLE has all the real-estate news of the week. All out-of-town owners of Brooklyn real estate should have it to keep posted on the realty situation.

Every day THE EAGLE contains all the world's news and a 4-page picture section—the only daily picture section published in this country. It pictures the news of the leading events of the entire world. The picture section also contains serial as well as short stories; literary notes, fashions, and much that is of interest to the home and women.

Subscription: $9.00 per year for THE DAILY and SUNDAY EAGLE.

BROOKLYN DAILY EAGLE

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

"The Best in Its Field and Its Field Is the Best."

The Evening Mail

NEW YORK'S POPULAR
EVENING NEWSPAPER

It Seeks Favor Through Merit and Not Through Hysteria

The Evening Mail's great success is due to the fact that it prints the news without prejudice or exaggeration. It is alert, aggressive and reliable.

Its reviews of new books and of new plays attract wide attention, and its other features, particularly its Saturday Illustrated Magazine (sixteen pages of half tones) have established it as the leading evening paper of New York.

The Evening Mail

ONE CENT

The Evening Sun

Unbiased Experts

Handle Sports in

THE EVENING SUN

Sporting Pages

Don't need a Directory

The Evening Sun

170 Nassau Street, New York

SUBSCRIPTIONS BY MAIL, POSTPAID:

Per Month, - - - $0.20 | Per Year, - - - - $2.00

Postage to Foreign Countries Added.

THE BOSTON HERALD

It is its enormous

Home Circulation

that makes advertising pay better in the

Boston Herald

than in any other newspaper in New England.

Two Esperanto Text-Books

ELEMENTARY LESSONS IN ESPERANTO

Reprinted from THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

GRAMMAR, EXERCISES, CORRESPONDENCE, SELECTIONS IN PROSE AND VERSE AND A FULL VOCABULARY

Price 25 cents, net. Postage 5 cents

A GRAMMAR AND COMMENTARY ON THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE ESPERANTO

Compiled by MAJ.-GEN. GEORGE COX, B.A. (CANTAB.)

A COMPLETE TEXT-BOOK FOR THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING STUDENT

Price 75 cents, net. Postage 10 cents

PUBLISHED BY

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

FRANKLIN SQUARE, NEW YORK

PRINTING

of

PAMPHLETS

BOOKLETS

BRIEFS

BY-LAWS

We have a plant especially equipped for this kind of work.

Using linotypes, our type is always new. This is worth considering.

Our workmanship is not surpassed by any one.

Our prices are a little lower than most of our competitors, and is worth your time to investigate.

Our law=brief department is under the management of men fully qualified to handle every detail, and our work pleases every customer.

The methods we employ in our plant enable **us to complete work on short notice.**

If you are wanting a **Prospectus** printed, remember we can give you a dandy. **By=Laws** of corporations, churches, or other organizations always turned out in a neat manner. **Reports of annual meetings** of associations gotten up in a style out of the ordinary.

To sum up the situation, we can print any sort of a book, pamphlet, brief, etc., that you may want; print it a little better and at a price that is a little cheaper than others may offer.

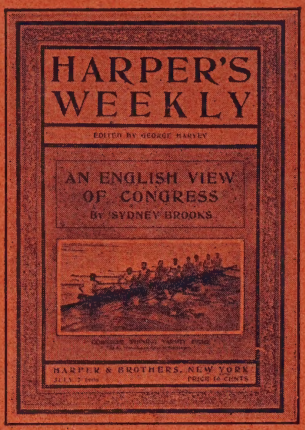
REPORTER PUBLISHING COMPANY

American Central Life Building

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

HARPER'S WEEKLY

EDITED BY
GEORGE HARVEY



THE scope of HARPER'S WEEKLY makes it the foremost publication of its kind in America.

Its widely quoted "Comment" is recognized as the most able, authoritative, and impartial editorial summary appearing in any journal in this country. In it are discussed the vital happenings of the day in every important field of human thought and activity.

It furnishes a valuable and interesting record of the progress of the world. Its illustrations present history with the unquestioned accuracy of photographs.

In fiction it offers the work of the best living writers: W. D. Howells, Mark Twain, Katherine Cecil Thurston, Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, Anthony Hope, Gilbert K. Chesterton, A. E. W. Mason, Justus Miles Forman, Hamlin Garland, Thomas A. Janvier, Will N. Harben, Roy Rolfe Gilson, George Ade.

It has correspondents in the leading capitals of the world, and is thereby enabled to present history in the making.

Price 10 Cents **FOR SALE BY ALL NEWSDEALERS** **$4.00 Per Year**

ONE may continue the benefits of a Summer vacation indefinitely and all the better enjoy their work by drinking

Evans' Ale

IT contains all the essentials for husbanding the strength and vigor acquired through rest and recreation.

Supplies a natural and lasting stamina to withstand the strain of work and worry. Nourishes and lubricates the vital forces—A great blood maker and body builder.

Any Dealer Anywhere, or write to

C. H. EVANS & SONS

(Established 1786.) Hudson, N. Y.

MENNEN'S

BORATED TALCUM

TOILET POWDER

"YOU'RE SAFE"

in the hands of the little captain at the helm,—the "complexion specialist," whose results are certain, whose fees are small.

MENNEN'S

Borated Talcum

TOILET POWDER

protects and soothes, a sure relief from **Sunburn, Prickly Heat, Chafing,** etc. Put up in **non-refillable boxes**—the **"box that lox"**—for your protection. If Mennen's face is on the cover it's **genuine** and a **guarantee** of purity. Delightful after **shaving.** Guaranteed under Food & Drugs Act, June 30, 1906. Serial No. 1542. Sold everywhere, or by mail, 25c.

SAMPLE FREE

G. Mennen Co., Newark, N.J.

Try Mennen's Violet Borated Talcum Powder It has the scent of fresh cut Parma Violets.

"A Pure Cocoa of Undoubted Quality and Excellence of Manufacture"

Walter Baker's

A distinguished London physician, in giving some hints concerning the proper preparation of cocoa, says:

"Start with a pure cocoa of undoubted quality and excellence of manufacture, and which bears the name of a respectable firm. This point is important; for there are many cocoas on the market which have been doctored by the addition of alkali, starch, malt, kola, hops, etc."

Registered, U. S. Pat. Off.

48 HIGHEST AWARDS in Europe and America

WALTER BAKER & CO. Ltd.

DORCHESTER, MASS.

Established 1780

Nineteen Hundred Seven

finds our product in

Private Carriages

of highest excellence in all that pertains to refinement of design, perfection of construction, and obedience to personal wishes.

Satisfaction guaranteed.

Correspondence invited.

Catalogues to prospective purchasers.

THE FRENCH CARRIAGE CO.

(FERDINAND P. FRENCH)

Designers, Builders, Distributors Select Carriages.

92-98 SUMMER STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

XLVth Season